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OUR FATHERS

(1870-1900)

BY

ALAN BOTT

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT VICTORIANS: A SURVEY IN PICTURES AND TEXT OF THEIR HISTORY, MORALS, WARS, SPORTS, INVENTIONS & POLITICS



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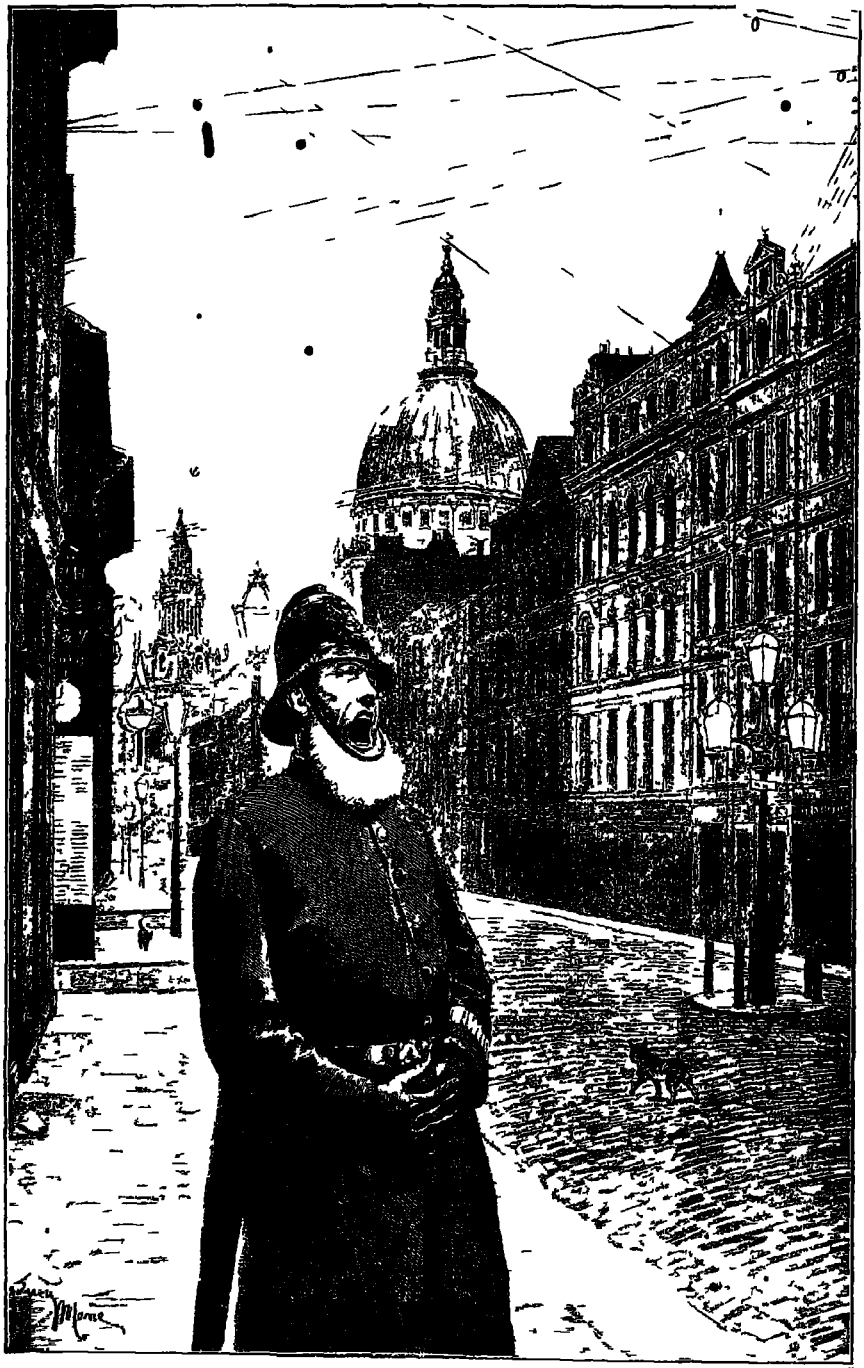
1880



"THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES, now installed in Marlborough House, have taken their place as leaders of London's younger rank and fashion"

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BRITISH SABBATARIANISM "Dimanche a Londres," from a drawing exhibited in Paris

To
N.C.B
(1865-1965)

1870



SATURDAY AFTERNOON AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE—"Englishmen, when their pleasures are criticized, have one reason to hold up their heads. They have a temple of pleasure that is unique, that is as near perfection as such things can be. We refer, of course, to the Crystal P..lace"

OUR FATHERS.

*

MANNERS AND MORALS

THE only traces of Victorianism left in the front window of English life are the English Sunday in the towns, some mildly snobbish hierarchies in the countryside, a Gladstonian unction among elder statesmen, and the Church's outlook on divorce. The rest has gone, although it is evoked in attitudes struck by youngish writers who continue to flog, not a dead horse, but its reputation.

Most of us in the war generation passed through a phase of deriding, or even, hating, the great antiques of the nineteenth century whom we had been taught to revere. The middle classes, tired at last of their long earnestness under the good Queen, adopted disrespect as a fashion in the eighteen-nineties; but that was for adults only. The nineteenth-century conscience stayed strong enough, right through the Edwardian twilight of its gods, to keep for the young the Victorian code.

The Victorian Lord, in my early schooldays, was not the terrible personage from whom Mr. Fairchild took his authority, but he was still drastic and unavoidable in cases of sin against the code. Later, Grand Old 'Uns, from Ruskin to Matthew Arnold by way of Tennyson, were rammed so hardly upon our palates that we considered every bearded venerable a bore. With a warning that this road was dangerous, we were introduced to Darwin and Huxley, but only at the schools that encouraged a modern side. What mattered most was Character. Cleverness was a dubious asset before one reached twenty, and after that it was approved only in moderation. The Etonian gibe:

> Rugby may be more clever,
> Harrow may make more row,
> Row, row together . . .

was an attitude imitated in all the less expensive schools. It stayed sacrosanct longer than most aspects of middle and late Victorianism; witness the howl that rose when *The Loom of Youth* appeared.

I now part company, for a few years, from such of my generation as went into the pre-war army, the navy, the Church, or the Indian Civil Service, or who could afford, after cutting golden capers in their University years, to hunt through the winter and through the London season form themselves into a last phalanx of *jeunesse dorée*. The rest of us, while we hewed rather haphazard paths to a career, experienced a sequence of Victorian mental phases that had been excluded

from our Victorian curriculum. Aged about seventeen, we wallowed in agnosticism and other doubtings. We went in for Whistler, and claimed to understand Meredith. A year or so later, we caught up with the yellow aspect of the 'nineties, and were everso Wilde and Dowson. A revival in Beardsley floated through our adolescence, and wafts from far away Baudelaire and Verlaine turned one to recognition of the flowers of evil.

The next quick stage was adventure in our own modernity. Shaw we had taken in our stride, and by 1913 we would have made him a Middle-aged Master had he not resentfully insisted on maintaining his red-bearded youth. We had liked the Wells who introduced the modern young person in Ann Veronica, but were dashed by discovery that our fathers and mothers liked him too. So, also, with Orpen, Wilson Steer and other painters of merit. The approval of our elders ruled them out, although when Augustus John entered the Café Royal, half a dozen younger and shorter painters, with beards carefully grown à la John, and hair trained to be unruly, would bob up to catch the master's eye; and the more Epstein affronted the *Daily Mail* mind with his physiological statuary, the more we discussed his genius.

Piqued by the suspicion that parents were less antiquated than we wanted to think them, we sought later influences, for which the chief qualification was newness. Some had a vitality that carried them from experiment to permanence, some were whirling jabberwocks. We preached Van Gogh and Post-Impressionism when they were laughed at in England. Our young artists and architects lauded the beauties in engineering. We invited Marinetti, the Futurist, from Rome to London, hilariously dined him at old mother Strindberg's Cave of the Golden Calf in Heddon Street, and hilariously cheered when he recited a poem on automobolism, of which the only line I remember is *Olà vita fut fut boum!* The new thought and the new art had to to be aggressive at all costs. I helped a now famous painter to hand out in Regent Street leaflets that advertised his four-dimensional pictures; and more than one passer thought the leaflets described a stock of indecent postcards.

Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Sinister Street* was the novel that came nearest to showing, on a London background, the sensitive young of half a generation ahead of us. Our own immediate young had no time to find their way into novels because war turned the thoughts of older writers into broader themes, and those of us who had begun to write were pitched too soon into chaos. Meanwhile the new voices we admired found few platforms except *The English Review* under Austin Harrison and *The New Age* under Orage. One such voice, full of strange oaths and resonant bloodies, was the poet Masefield. Had anybody then predicted that Masefield would end as the most approved Poet Laureate since Tennyson, he would have been thought drunk, or a feeble-minded poseur; the suggestion would not have seemed more startling had it concerned Mr. J. C. Squire, then in his phase of caustic parody.

Our generation was the first to build barriers against the Victorians; but it was left no time for holding out against their domination. When the war

came, a high priest of the twentieth-century movements then stirring surrounded himself with unenlisted acolytes, and announced to the patriots, "We are the civilisation for which you are fighting!" But that pose could not last; within a few weeks the young intellectuals were in khaki, and on the best of terms with the young hearties who had liked being flung out of the Empire promenade, and would rather have been sent down from Oxford than have taken a First in Science at London University.

Whatever influence the war may or may not have had on individual citizens who fought, it inescapably widened the breach between themselves and their parents. The guff about atrocities and lily-white causes, the easy exaltation, the manufactured hatred of the enemy, all the catchwords between Business as Usual and The Women Have the Hardest Part in War—mud, steel, shells, fear of death, beastly carnage amid companionship so fine that it could not be talked of and hardly joked at, these were disinfectants against such unreality. By 1917, coming home on leave was like leaving one miasma for another that seemed more curious. The manœuvrings over panel conscription, the exaggeration of peril in air raids, the eat-'em-alive attitude towards the Germans, were remote from the urgencies we knew. The war deepened our affection for parents; but when some friend with an independent spirit was killed in France and it was said that the father had "given his son," we sometimes thought, secretly and flippantly, how exceptional a war would be in which sons gave their fathers.

There were also moments of quiet, in and out of hospital, when we speculated over the causes of the damned thing. The Germans had raped Belgium, of course, and had been generally aggressive. But that was a symptom. What had been the gathering causes, what had brought the nations into their bellicose readiness to send us into this hell, which all the slogans could not make other than a hell? Had not the Victorians, who snaffled the world's riches while crying humanitarianism, banging the Bible, and imposing a system of manners based on repression—had they not contributed by drawing upon their nation international jealousy and a reputation for hypocrisy? The resentment against our fathers, who continued to give their sons, was crude but natural.

Meanwhile, the old 'uns and their code were flouted through the sexual freedom that thrust itself forward. This had begun, indeed, earlier than the war. Many Suffragettes and their sympathisers held that women had the right to freedom in the same degree as that assumed by males under cover of Victorian niceties. But the moderate paganism which resulted was likewise kept under cover of the niceties. The war intensified it, though even then it was not flaunted. With premature death round the corner, the coming together of the sexes has always been instinctive and inevitable, an urgent union of youth with youth while time lasts.

Until the social contours of England after the war became defined, manners did not change outwardly to any great degree, despite the profiteers; and morals were outwardly assumed to be what they were not. Our remnants had been changed by abnormal experience into different beings, uncertain of their needs in an England which was the reverse of what they had hoped and the statesmen

had easily promised. Then, enter the newer generation, neglected and ill-nourished during wartime, surfeited with patriotic proddings that led it nowhere. Through being moulded during its impressionable years by elderly people whose thoughts were on things more urgent, it was untrammelled on the one hand, and on the other inclined to hysteria. It whooped its freedom from restraint, stripped conversation of the last decencies, knocked down the ultimate ninepins of Victorian reticence. Mr. Michael Arlen happened. A host of twittering young hedonists, alive with brave rudeness and self-conscious complexes, settled upon London (here and there they even adopted perversion as a mode). The phase, for a while, was amusing.

More than ever were the Victorians derided. Books about them stood no chance of success unless they specialised in irony and "de-bunking." An odd thing, though, became evident. Among the Stracheys, Sitwells, and other literary artists of unquestioned brilliance who searched the Victorian age for gleanings in irony, not one was able to keep regard out of his collection. Unwilling respect gradually became affection. Victoriana was collected in the home, family albums were paraded only half in fun, and the ancient Victorians became a subject for costume balls. Fortitude, downright humour, and something near to sentiment finally returned into vogue. Mr. J. B. Priestley brought back, with what success we know, the long novel about quaint, clean, simple, hearty folk. Perhaps religion itself will be the next native to receive a welcome home, after a flashy decade that was made sterile by self-pity.

Mr. Laurence Housman, in a prologue to his *Angels and Ministers,* wrote, "The Victorian era has ceased to be a thing of yesterday; . . . the fixed look of age which now grades the period, grades also the once living material which went to its making. With this period of history those who were participants in its life can deal more intimately than can those whose literary outlook comes later . . . When we go, something goes with us which will require for its reconstruction, not the natural piety of a returned native, such as I claim to be, but the cold, calculating art of literary excursionists whose domicile is elsewhere . . . The bloom upon the grape only fully appears when it is ripe for death. Then, at a touch, it passes, delicate and evanescent as the frailest blossoms of Spring. Just at this moment the Victorian age has that bloom upon it—autumnal not spring-like —which, in the nature of things, cannot last."

The bloom has passed during the ten years since that was said; the second half of the nineteenth century has become a "period" admitted by its fondest survivors, the praisers of bygone times, to be quaint as well as golden. Literary excursionists into its country have brought back judgment of its grandeurs and oddities. With every kind of history of the Victorian era published, I attempt its only new adventure in books—a reconstruction through a pattern made from its pictures, with today's outlook blended into the composition. It happens that the second half of the sixty year's reign left us a unique store of illustrations. There were prints and engravings in plenty, but I have here chosen only a few among them, since better value is given by the wood-blocks used in the great illustrated

journals, before the reproduction of photographs on paper arrived in the mid-nineties. Artists were employed to sketch every event worth attention, and every aspect of life, either as eye-witnesses or "from information supplied." The illustrators of the nineteenth century arrived soon after Victoria reached the throne, and soon before she died their occupation ended. We shall never see their like again, and no later or earlier epoch will have been drawn so vividly as was the Victorian.

Much of their work was authentic or first-class craftsmanship. The Victorian *Graphic* (whence I have taken many engravings), employed men in the categories of Herkomer, Sydney Hall, Brangwyn, du Maurier, W. L Wyllie, and others whose work is in the National Portrait Gallery and many notable collections, public and private. Half their contributions were unsigned; if I had not read about Sydney Hall's adventures in Paris through the German siege and the Commune, I should not have known that his were various sketches which I have now seized upon, sixty-two years after their journey to London by balloon post. The files containing their work are boneyards of dim antics, acres of which must be turned over for the treasure amid the splinters. Nevertheless, they give a truer perspective than can be got from *Punch's* mannered brilliance, and through to-day's spectacles their illustration is even more comic, because the comedy is unintended. Engravings by the hundred thousand were sifted by my collaborator, Miss Irene Clephane (to whom I owe sincerest thanks for her discriminating work) to find the several thousands from which I chose the hundreds, the high lights, in *Our Fathers.* The period quotations that give them point, collected from many sources, are in every case authentic. I have received, and am very grateful for, correction from distinguished authorities—Sir John Fortescue in military history, Mr. John Buchan in political history and Empire occasions, Professors J. B. S. Haldane and H. Levy in nineteenth century science, Mr. Norman Ewer in international occasions.

Since the illustrations are by other hands, I may offer the opinion that they tell their story as clearly as Academy canvases by Millais and Herkomer told theirs. The chapter on manners and morals needs as key only a brief reference to intangible change below the surface here displayed. In every class the years between 1870 and 1900 brought vastly altered habit, status, religious outlook, sex relations, education, amusement, health, work, leisure, and contact with ideas from the Continent. I quote from Mr. R. H. Gretton's admirable *Modern History of the English People:* "A Rip Van Winkle of 1810, waking into 1850, would have been completely bewildered by the steam-engine; but he might have passed the remainder of his life in conversation which he would have enjoyed and found reasonably familiar. A Rip Van Winkle of 1870, waking in 1910, while he would have grasped the principle of the motor car in twenty minutes, would never have been on conversational terms with his neighbours; he would have found that he did not know what they were talking about."

England in 1870 was still divided and sub-divided into the classes and the masses. Snobbery was all-embracing. "Society" in London was small, narrow, and

devastatingly well-bred. "High Life" and ornate equipages, with footmen on the boards, lingered on in a London Season which lasted from January to July. Land and the Funds were the socially recognised forms of wealth. Politics and the Services provided the genteel careers, though a younger son could enter the Church if he were earnest or rather queer, perhaps the Bar if he were clever, and the Foreign Office if he obtained an influential nomination. The rest of the Civil Service, like banking, was held to be half a step lower.

The doctor, the merchant, the solicitor were placed further down, and necessarily in the middle classes. All artists except Sir Frederick Leighton, all authors except Mr. Tennyson, were dubious. The squirearchy ruled the countryside, but was committing slow, gentlemanly, unintelligent hara-kiri before its trinity of the fox, the horse, the pheasant. A woman's property was her husband's. Smoking in mixed company was forbidden, and needed the ritual of the velvet jacket, the tasselled cap and the smoking-room. It was not done before "ladies," though it was done before women—at the music halls, say, or at Evans's in Covent Garden, or any of the resorts frequented by lusty males but not discussed in the all-powerful home circle. The crinoline had gone (Victoria had helped to speed it away) but the bustle was on the horizon. Ladies wore backward flounces, accentuating their flanks, on skirts draped down to their toe-tips; "killing" coats that protruded over the skirt-flounces; and lots of hair-plaits at the back of the head. Whiskers, top hats, check trousers were as worn by gentlemen.

The Queen was in retirement, though Albert had been gone for years. The Prince of Wales, married and a father, was not yet able to break, even socially, from maternal strings. It was still a deucedly straight-laced England in manners and morals; and, despite Disraeli, an insular England to whom Americans were queer fish and Frenchmen and Dutchmen, Russians and such men were those foreigners (Germans were better received because of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha—also, they were respectably serious). Statesmen (again despite Disraeli), divines, historians, editors, biographers, employers of labour and heads of families were awesome ones and—on the standards set later by the eighteen-nineties—bombastic bores. "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord" was as potent as Rule Britannia.

Girls had their orgies of archery, polka, water colours, sensibilities, Valentines and clandestine correspondence. Young men worked hard, but found time to be raffish in Regent Street, or ogle in Birdcage Walk, and regretted the siege of Paris because it cut off the intermittent headquarters for naughtiness and the needs of the flesh. Good works abounded, including the teaching of heathen in the Dark Continent that because nudity was taboo in England, black loins and busts should be covered on the Gold Coast. It was assumed, and even believed, that throughout life (and fiction had to follow the rule) wrongdoing brought inevitable retribution in this world, but that virtue would be rewarded in the next. Income tax, during the trade depression, rose from tuppence to fivepence in the pound. Telephones and electric light were years distant. England was the greatest nation; and much of it was a sleepy hollow.

The eighteen-eighties did not change all that, but they made a start. "Society" broadened out with the rising fortunes in shipping and manufacture, which became fields for investment by professional people and the aristocracy. The middle classes, growing much more powerful, also grew more light-hearted. In manners, the Veneerings of Streatham might copy the De Veres of Belgravia, but their grown-up sons and daughters were pioneers of new sports and æstheticisms which the aristocracy copied in its turn. Willowy, "arty" young women appeared in the streets, self-transformed into projections from Burne-Jones and Rossetti. The "souls" and their imitators happened. Evening dresses reached down to the toes, but exposed most things above the middle. Oscar Wilde and Whistler entered the salons, and met royalty. In the drawing-rooms, music-hall songs joined the lacka-day-sweet-lady type of ballad. Phineas T. Barnum's removal of Jumbo the elephant from the Zoo was "stunted" on almost Northcliffe lines. Agnosticism made headway, evolution gained ground from a fundamentalist Deity (science, despite William James, was held to be an inevitable deicide). The grave and reverend signors, including heads of families, were sometimes argued against; and W. S. Gilbert could mock, without causing much resentment:

> Morality, heavenly link,
> To thee I'll eternally drink!
> Oh, I'm awfully fond of that heavenly bond,
> Morality, heavenly link!

All this did not apply in much of England outside London. Mr. Gladstone was the most popular personage, and his self-righteousness percolated through the nation. The evangelising group—Lords Shaftesbury and Kinnaird, the Buxton family, and others—were also powerful; and the Church roused fervour with its disputes over ritual and its frictions with the Nonconformists. Christians furiously raged together. The Sabbath was still a dreary day upon which only the lost played cards.

Change, moreover, was twisted and restricted by the solidity of the queen's reign. Although she was secluded, the shadow of the self-willed old lady, shaped by her inevitably fixed opinions after such a reign, was across the land. In the 'eighties the Prince of Wales asserted himself socially, and the London season revolved around himself and Princess Alexandra. But the frivols of the Marlborough House set pricked reforming tongues into protest; Archbishop Benson was invited (and declined) to interfere.

The advance guard of the 'nineties managed later to free the nation from its pall of earnestness. Prosperity and easy transport loosened most habits, and the weight of new wealth that came to Park Lane with South African millionaires, or to Belgravia from the Empire-gorged City, bore down all opposition against the tastes of its owners. The queen was a great sentiment in the background. Mr. Gladstone was out of the picture; Lord Salisbury was aloof; Joe Chamberlain, ex-Mayor of Brummagem, was becoming the focus of statecraft. The art

rebels of the 'eighties had won their day, and their successors were all for stylised artificiality. The Savoy and Yellow Book band did their damnedest to shock the bourgeois, but found it not so easy, since bourgeois had become a term of general reproach. The Oscar Wilde scandal drew horror upon the sins of society; but a sequence of causes célèbres in the divorce courts merely increased the vogue for brilliant problem-plays by Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones. It was an era of great ladies and professional beauties, most of them friendly with the Prince of Wales; and these introduced into their salons "the higher Bohemianism." The week-end habit arrived with safety bicycles. London was no longer strait-laced in anything save its horrid corsets. Except in the villages and the manufacturing cities, the Victorian era proper ended several years before Victoria died; always with the proviso that what was sauce for the goose was not sauce for the gosling and young gander—mid-Victorianism continued to dominate the tone of education, and in the schools the tenets were those of Arnold of Rugby, not Matthew Arnold.

There remains only to mention, for my purpose in this chapter, an aspect of the era which but one historian of its manners and morals seems to have analysed —the cult of the double bed. Among all that the Victorian period produced, the aspect most vital to ourselves was over-population. Dr. Wingfield-Stratford, in *The Victorian Tragedy,* which is as incisive as it is deliciously written, says, "The Victorians were careful to invest the marriage chamber with a taboo of absolute secrecy . . . That room was the Holy of Holies in the vast chamber of middle-class domesticity . . . 'Mama' toiled and intrigued, with indefatigable zeal, that she might see the last of her brood of daughters pass beyond her ken and authority into the Unmentionable. To attain this consummation, innocent Flora exposed a virginal bosom, and pinched and expanded her contour to hint at charms that nature never owned . . . Once the goal was attained and the door closed, there was no appeal and no escape . . . If a wife left her husband it was assumed that this could only be with a blackguard of the deepest dye and the longest Dundrearys, who would abandon her, penniless, to the Thames or the school room."

Parents-in-law, as well as husbands, however gentle both might otherwise be, demanded children and yet more children. Nor was there often anxiety by wives, whatever the supertax on their strength, to shirk the sacred task. The double bed (there are survivors who still feel that single beds in marriage are hardly nice) was a hidden Ark of the Covenant before which passed the tramp, tramp, tramp of men, women and many more children than the country could maintain when commercial development halted. Its hidden cult was the motive behind most of the Victorian morals and manners, including the romantic idealism so frequently attained in Victorian marriage. It was one reason why the queen, nine times a mother, was so completely a symbol of her time. Its tyranny helped to bring about a violent reaction against the Victorian code; and its power explains much about Victorian expansion and Victorian greatness.



ROTUNDITY IN THE ALBERT HALL "Madam Christine Nillson, the great Swedish Singer, bade farewell to the English public at the Albert Hall last Wednesday, following her second marriage, to the Count Casa di Miranda. The vast audience in the magnificent edifice recalled her again and again, until at last she ended with a third rendering of 'Angels Ever Bright and Fair'"

1871



"VOLUNTEERS AT WIMBLEDON" (Left) Sewing on the Queen's badge (Right) Evensong

1881



"READY TO GO THROUGH FIRE AND WATER: A field Day with the Volunteers"

1872



PRINCE ARTHUR [AFTERWARDS DUKE OF CONNAUGHT] AT DEJEUNER: "The visit to the People's Park, Aston, Birmingham was marred by rain, which came in through the canvas of the grand luncheon tent. Many had to hold an umbrella in one hand, and ply their knife or fork alternately with the other. While on the grounds, the Prince was obliged to keep up his umbrella with the left hand and his hat with the right, while on his arm he had the Countess of Bradford"

1872



"CHATSWORTH ORANGERY ILLUMINATED DURING THE PRINCE'S VISIT"



SHEPHERD'S HOTEL, CAIRO: *"If the new Suez Canal, diverting the traffic from its present course, should render Shepherd's desolate, the name will remain a pleasant memory. There will always be a rare aroma about it. It is hoped, however, that Anglo-Indians will continue to find it a half-way-house on the long, tiring journey between home and home, a resting place, an idling place, a flirting place"*

1873



"HOLIDAY TIME ON THE SANDS AT THE NEWLY POPULAR RESORT OF MARGATE."

1870



QUEEN MARY SIXTY YEARS AGO A morning drive in a goat cart for Princess Mary and her brother Adolphus in the grounds of White Lodge, Richmond Francis, the new baby born this year to the Duke and Duchess of Teck is in his mother's arms" (Engraved by W Small, from a photograph by W & D Downey)



THE MAYOR OF LIMERICK WEDS THE SHANNON: "Every seven years the Mayor proceeds down the river, and shoots an arrow as far as he can. This year's proceedings were harmonious until Father Quaid delivered a Home Rule speech. Mild disorder followed until the Mayor (Mr. John J. Cleary) announced that any subject might be discussed except politics"

1873



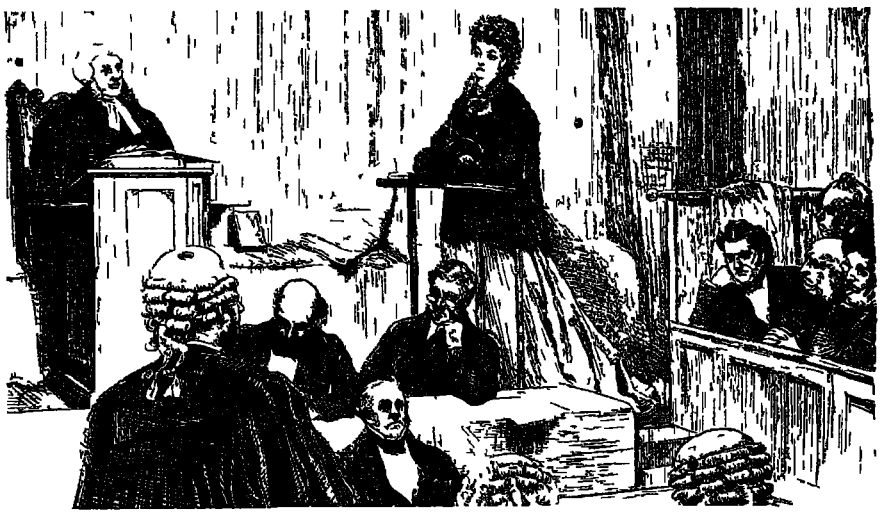
THE GRAND NATIONAL ARCHERY MEETING AT LEAMINGTON "The shooting at the Shrublands was unusually good and we may note that Mrs Hornblow was the champion, while Mr. Fisher headed the gentlemen We have depicted the 'Rose Queen of the Garden of Girls' taking aim Whatever execution she did with her arrows, she must have done far more with her eyes"

1882



ARCHERY AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE "The first of the great archery competitions of the Season took place amid weather free from wind or glare, so that many bowmen declared they had never shot under more delightful circumstances A liberal list of prizes was provided For golds Miss Bardswell (Wimbledon Archers) secured first place with a 'pin hole' at 60 yards."

1870



IN THE COURT OF DIVORCE "Things are not what they seem in the Divorce Court. As a rule the feminine petitioners are prettier than the respondents. Under the jury-box is a gentleman of intentionally fascinating appearance, a curled darling of a man, dressed not wisely but too swell. He is, of course, a co-respondent. A clever guess! He is the petitioner; and the co-respondent is that brutal looking man, in appearance the beau ideal of a wife-beater. Far too many ladies crowd the Court and listen unabashed to details the reporters can barely mention"

1871



A "KETTLEDRUM" IN KNIGHTSBRIDGE "In this form of afternoon party, ladies and gentlemen can mingle. 'Tea in the arbour,' which used to be reckoned among the vulgarities, has got into society. It is certainly much better to talk scandal in the garden than indoors"

1872



"DR LIVINGSTONE I PRESUME" Stanley sent by the *New York Herald* to search for Dr Livingstone, who had disappeared into Darkest Africa nearly three years before suddenly found the missing explorer At the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, he saw among a group of Arabs a pale looking grey bearded man in a blue jacket and a naval cap with a faded gold band He was overcome with joy but decided on restraint before the Arabs He advanced saluted and said Dr Livingstone I presume? The white stranger replied simply Yes

1874



"DR LIVINGSTONE READING THE BIBLE TO HIS BOYS, as seen by Mr Stanley"

1876



"BLUEJACKETS MARCHING TO CHURCH AT SHEERNESS"
by J. E. Hodgson, A.R.A.

1882



SUNDAY SCHOOL ON BOARD A REFUGEE SHIP: "Following the bombardment of Alexandria, refugees were taken aboard the British ship 'Rosina,' upon which Sunday School was held for the homeless children, whose favourite hymn was 'There is a happy land, far, far, away.'"

1872



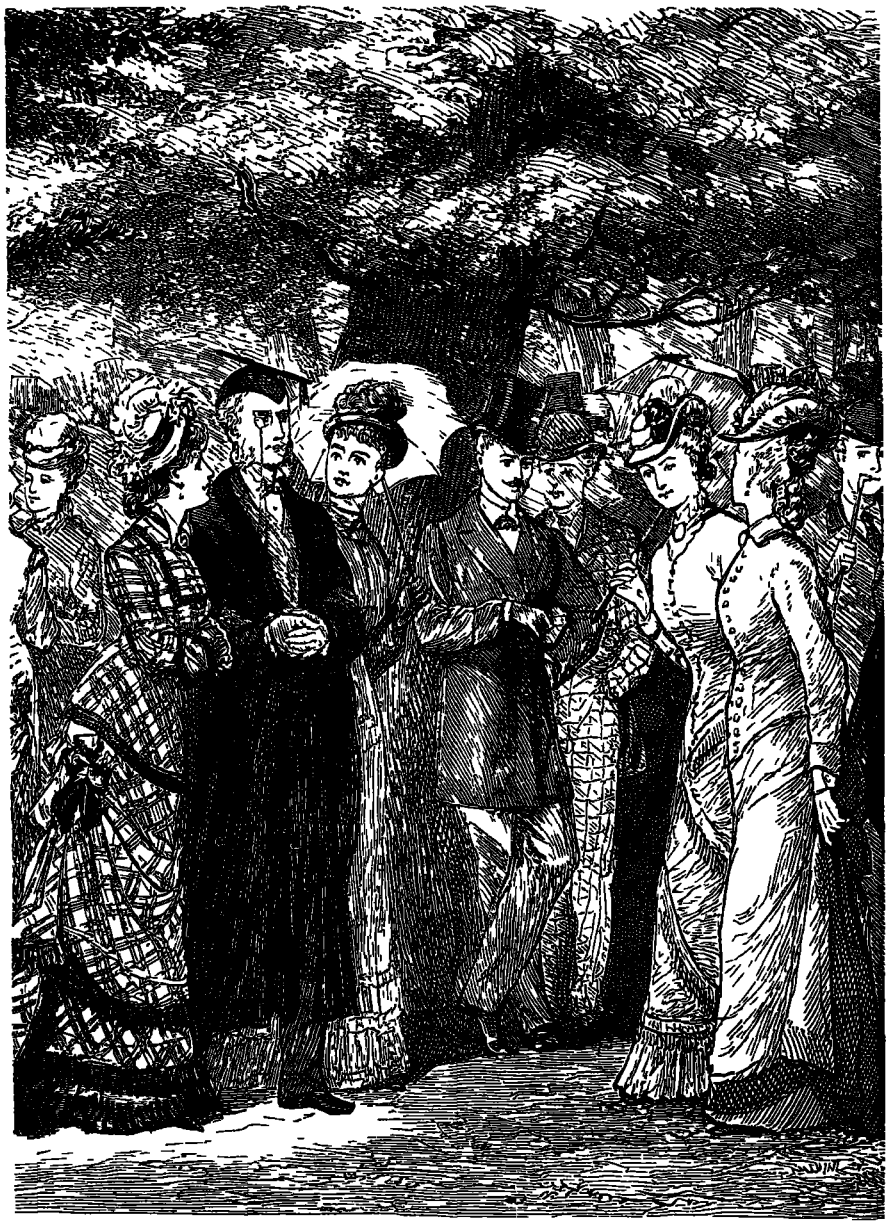
ALL SORTS OF ART STUDENTS IN THE LOUVRE.

1882



"THE FRESHMAN AT OXFORD: He arrives with his parents and some 'absolute necessities'"

1877

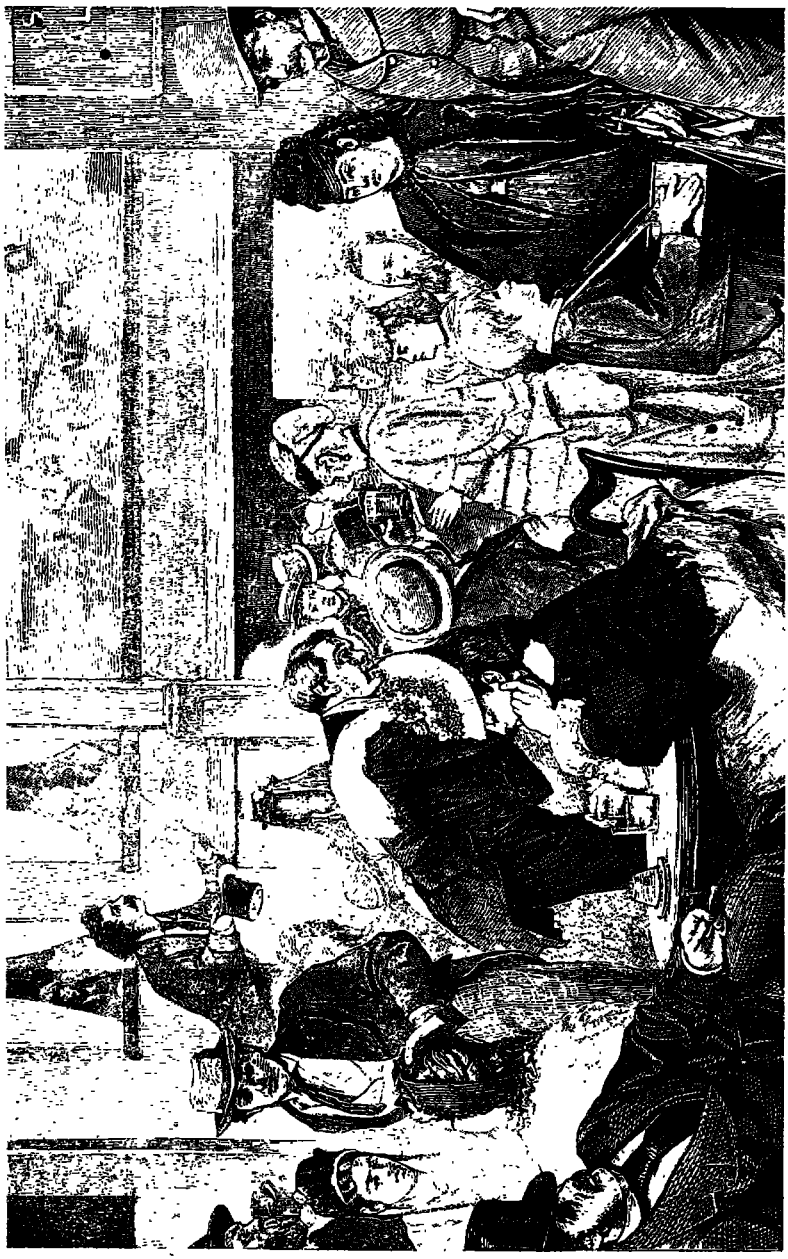


SHOW-UP SUNDAY IN THE BROAD WALK AT OXFORD: "Oxford is full of ladies for the Sunday proceedings. Comely mammas, pretty sisters, fascinating cousins abound, and it is the 'thing' to stroll under the chestnuts of the Broad Walk. Even the 'Don' is a proud and happy man, who, to the envy of his unprovided comrades, supports a fair one on either arm"



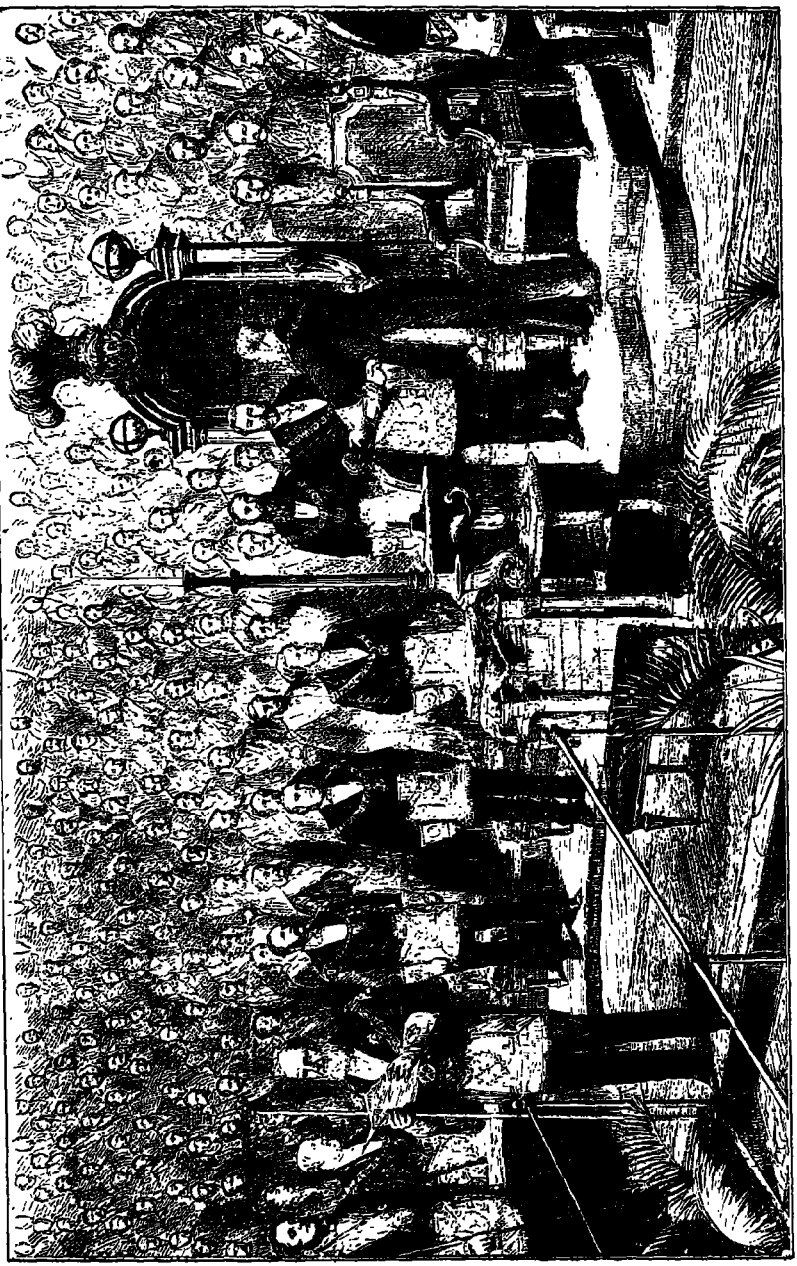
AFTERNOON PARADE AT BRIGHTON "Open carriages of all kind Landau victoria drag cart whitechapel phaeton Sunday vehicles and even the humble wheel make a scene of busy variety, while the young man in the latest ideal overcoat to button over and the flat hat, looking through his monocle at the 'quiverful' of young things affect a costume much too real for today Sunday morning on the lawn after church is really the feature of Brighton when the more elegant crowds [illegible] a little more refinement of appearance"

1873



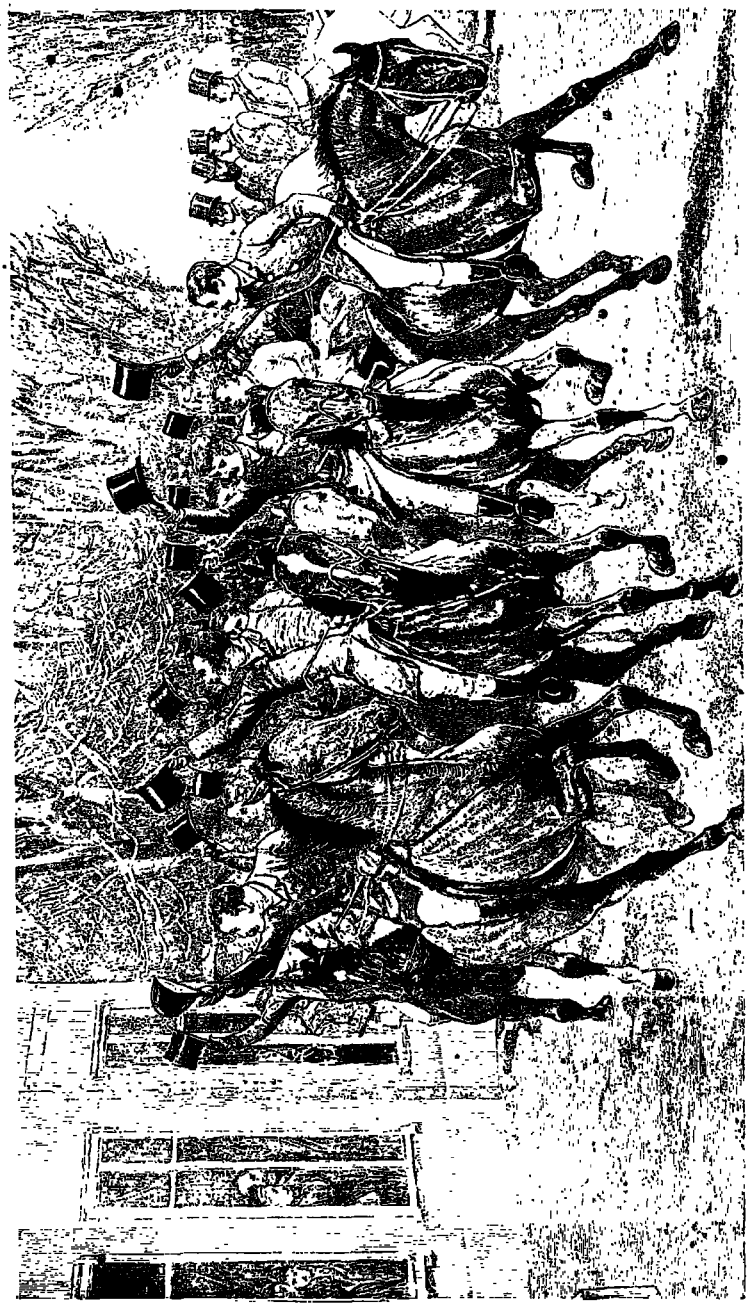
"A MODERN LONDON MUSIC-HALL: The Mogul in Leicester Square, which is very different from such resorts as the 'Cave of Harmony' immortalised by Mr. Thackeray. 'The pipe and the pot are still invariable accompaniments of the performances; but unbecoming behaviour is very rare, and many of the songs might be heard in drawing-rooms of persons who consider they frequent the best society."

1875



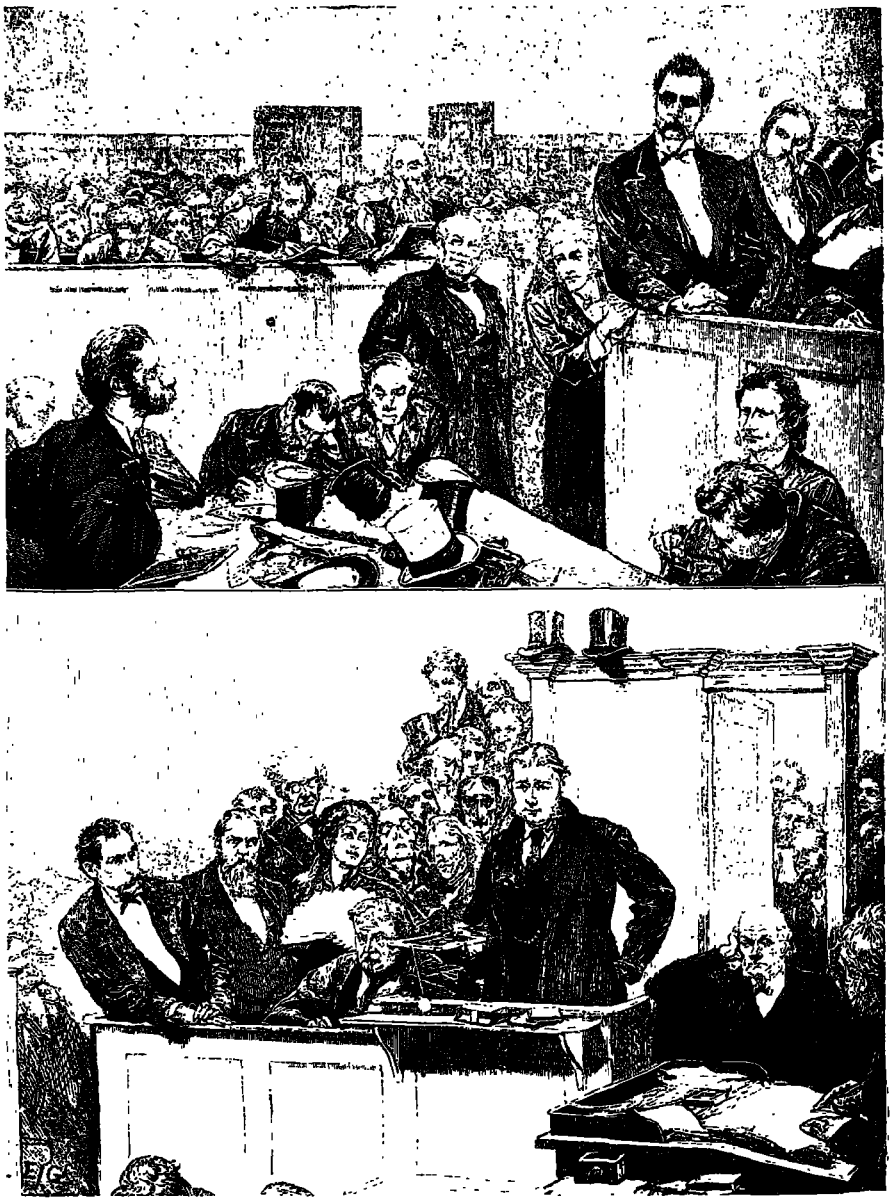
THE MASONIC INSTALLATION OF H.R.H.: "No more splendid display of the glories of Freemasonry has ever taken place than that witnessed in the Albert Hall on Wednesday week, when the Prince of Wales was installed as Grand Master. After prayer by the Grand Chaplain, the Earl of Carnarvon, as Pro-Grand Master, invested the Prince with the collar and jewel of his office and led him to the throne"

1889



THE WEST NORFOLK HUNT SALUTES ROYALTY: "When the Queen, with the Prince of Wales and Princess Louise, entered the state carriage at Wolferton Station last Tuesday, they were escorted on the drive to Sandringham by three-score gentlemen of the West Norfolk Hunt. At the head of the procession was Sir Dighton Probyn, and behind him were the whippers-in; next came Mr. A. Fountaine, Master of the Hounds, followed by twenty-four members of the hunt in black cut-away hunting coats, white leather breeches and top boots, riding four abreast. Behind these rode thirty-two more members of the hunt, also four abreast but in scarlet coats, headed by Mr. Hay Gurney. As the Queen and the Princesses entered the house, the members of the hunt formed a semi-circle and rode round and round, cheering"

1876



"THE PROSECUTION AT BOW STREET OF DR. SLADE, THE SPIRIT MEDIUM: Above, counsel for the prosecution, cross-examining the prisoner 'I wonder whether the spirits will appear in Court to-day.' Below, Professor E. Ray Lankester, giving evidence: 'I watched you writing on the slate. You are a scoundrel and an impostor.' Mr. Maskelyne demonstrated in Court how writing on the slate had been invisibly manipulated by a well trained expert"



A SPIRIT CAPTURED BY A SITWELL: "Sir George Sitwell and Mr. Von Buch having been told that the séances of the British National Association of Spiritualists were the most genuine in England, these two young gentlemen attended three sittings to investigate. At the third the medium was caught in *flagrante delicto*, having left some of her garments in the cabinet, while she walked barefooted as a spirit. The Society's explanation was that while honest Mrs. Corner was in a trance, some tricksy spirit made her disrobe. Sir George Sitwell and Mr. Von Buch are to be congratulated on showing up the craze for trying to lift futurity's impenetrable veil"



"LIFE IN THE BROADWAY Broadway was once the fashionable street of New York, but for the last twenty five years it has been eclipsed by the more pretentious and aristocratic Fifth Avenue In no other city in the world, however, is life lived with such intensity A Broadway feature is the contrast in the fashionable and the unfashionable side When a man has made a coup in Wall Street he will walk up and down on the west, or sunny side, bowing and smiling in the radiance of his newborn prosperity, but if he has been 'busted' he will sneak home on the shady side, to avoid cold shoulders Ladies with any just claim to the name, are seldom seen promenading below Tenth Street"



"THE WHISKY WAR IN OHIO: Our illustration is typical of the temperance crusades in the United States, where ladies go round saloons in the cities, sing Psalms, and offer up fervent prayers in the midst of whisky-kegs and lager-beer barrels, and under the hostile noses of their proprietors. One proprietor—Mr. Can Pelt, of New Vienna, reputed 'the wickedest man in Ohio'—became converted and, after first threatening to brain the praying sisterhood with an axe, used this very same instrument to destroy his whisky and beer barrels"

1871



THE MORMON BISHOP AND THE GENTILE Perhaps this scene sketched by our artist near Salt Lake City accounts for the fact that the Mormons dislike Gentiles'—or only like them at a distance The veils of the Mormon Bishop's wives are long and gauzy, giving them a sylph like slimness while, the mode in which they wear their shawls suggest that they had taken a fashion from the aboriginal squaws not yet extinct in the neighbourhood"

1872



'A LADIES' GAME IN AN AMERICAN TEN PIN ALLEY This game is said to have originated because nine pins became such a source of gambling that some States passed a law forbidding it An evasion was contrived by adding another pin, which was left on a shelf"

1889



A SEASIDE HOME FOR WORKING WOMEN: "Inmates of Seashore Cottage, Atlantic-ville, established to afford the female workers of New York an opportunity of enjoying a week or two by the sea at a charge of five dollars a week, disporting themselves on Monmouth Beach"

1889



HAIRCUTTING IN TEXAS: "Many English people have settled in Texas recently. The State is not yet fully settled, and most of the residents wear much the same dress as Buffalo Bill. Though work around the house is for everybody, there are many pleasures in mutual helpful-ness, a simple life, and, despite mosquitoes and other insects that bite, an almost perfect climate"

1883



THE PRINCE AT BADEN BADEN "This year Baden Baden has been even gayer than usual, owing to the jubilee of the International Club Our picture shows the Prince of Wales talking to Mr Coventry, the gentleman rider, who rode the Prince's horse Scott in the Grand Steeplechase"

1885



ROYAL VICTORIAN FURNISHINGS Princess Beatrice Queen Victoria's favourite daughter, in her private room at Osborne shortly before her marriage to Prince Henry of Battenberg

1883



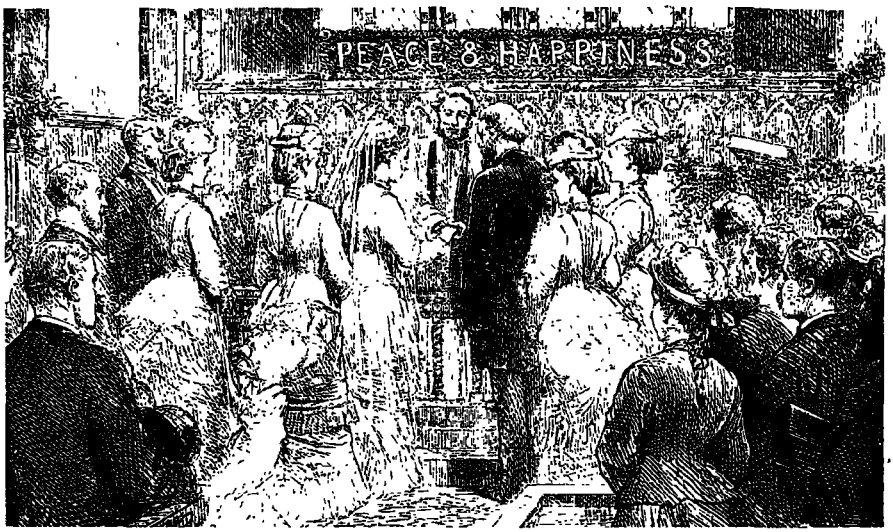
THE PASSING OF JOHN BROWN : " The Queen riding with her trusted servant John Brown over the Aberdeenshire hills, from an engraving published shortly after his death. Of this famous steward, her personal attendant who accompanied her everywhere, the Queen wrote: 'He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race, and is singularly kindhearted' "

1887



"FAIR FAINTERS AT THE JUBILEE : Ladies fainted freely in the terrific crush during the procession for the Queen's Jubilee—as many as twenty in a row lay in Trafalgar Square"

1877



"MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE: The Wedding of Lady Theodora Grosvenor, daughter of the second Marquis of Westminster, to Mr. T. Merthyr Guest, second son of the late Sir Josiah Guest, Bart., in the little village of Motcombe. Many hundreds of persons visited the market place to witness the roasting of a whole ox which was afterwards cut up and distributed to all comers. The marriage festivities were kept up for many days, the concluding event being a grand ball"

1890



HIGH LIFE MARRIAGE IN SIERRA LEONE: "Fine clothes are the rule but horses the exception and all kinds of vehicles are pressed into service. The bride often heads the cortege in a bathchair, while the bridesmaids, accompanied by black gentlemen on foot, follow in hammocks. There are no bare feet among the party, an extremely 'European' note being *de rigueur*"

1881



A QUAKER WEDDING "Miss Margaret Sophia Bright, third daughter of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., was married according to the Quaker rites to Dr. John Theodore Cash. After the traditional ceremony a poem was read, written for the occasion, and including the lines

'I John, take Friend Margaret here for my wife,
To be loving and faithful, while God gives us life . . .
No vows to the simple sweet promise lend force,
Yet who ever heard of a Quaker divorce?'

1887



PART OF A VICTORIAN FAMILY 'The Scriptures tell us, 'Happy is the man that hath his quiver full' M. de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, should therefore be one of the happiest men Our engraving does not represent the whole of his olive branches, as there are two babies still younger than the infant held by Madame de Lesseps in her arms, and also M. Charles de Lesseps (the engineer), the adult son by the first wife of the veteran, who was left a widower at the age of sixty-eight He is now eighty-six years of age, and in the interim he has been presented by his second wife a young Creole lady of remarkable beauty, with eleven children, nearly all girls."

1881



THE PRINCE'S DANCE OF TRIUMPH "After a day of exciting deer stalking, the Prince of Wales, with the Earl of Fife, took part in a torchlight dance of triumph at Mar Lodge"

1883



THE PRINCE IN FANCY DRESS The Fancy Ball organised by the Baden Club on the 28th ult was most spirited All the guests were asked to adopt servants' or peasants' costumes, so the Prince of Wales, Prince Hermann of Saxe Weimar and other friends created amusement by appearing as cooks When the party of marmitons entered to the strains of 'God Save the Queen,' the Prince opened the Ball by a quadrille, and kept up this quaint character right merrily"



H.R.H. AT SHAKESPEARE'S TOMB: "During his stay at Warwick the Prince of Wales paid a visit to Stratford-on-Avon, in honour of Shakespeare's birthday. The Rev. G. Arbuthnot, vicar of Holy Trinity, took the Prince round the church and pointed out to his highly interested visitor the font in which Shakespeare was baptised and the tomb in which he was buried"

1889



CHURCH PARADE IN HYDE PARK: "Fashion pronounces it to be bad form to ride or drive on Sundays in the Park, and the laws of Fashion are usually more readily obeyed than the laws of Moses, though, in this particular instance, they happen to agree. Walking, however, is the correct thing, and for many years past it has been a pleasant custom for the denizens of the adjacent Belgravian streets to meet after church near the Achilles Statue, and exchange friendly greetings"

1891



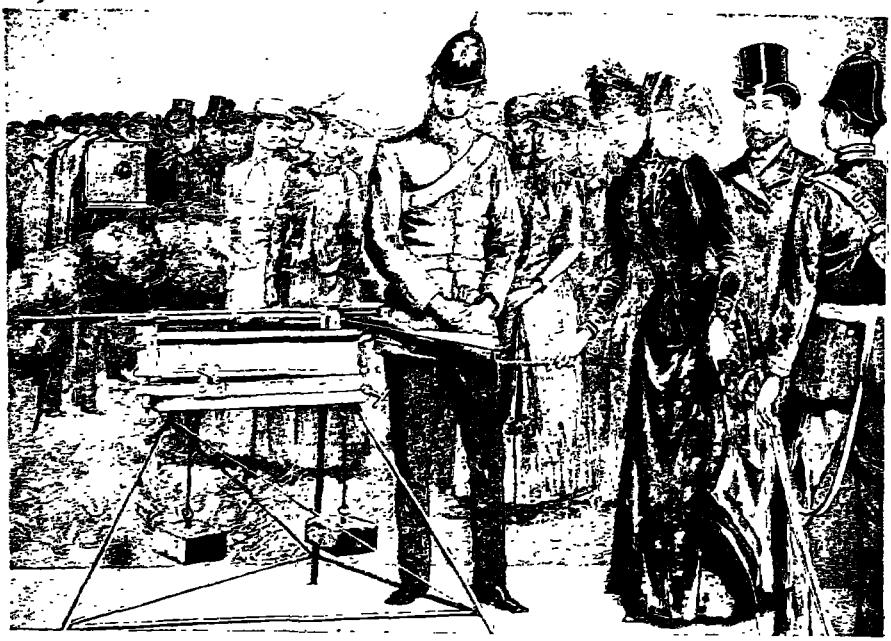
MAYTIME FROLIC: "This very pretty scene took place on Saturday before 10,000 spectators. The whole village of St. Mary Cray was decorated from end to end. About twenty girls, in classical costumes designed by Mr. Johnson, of the paper mills, took the Maypole ribbons and danced"

1890



"SOCIETY IN THE ROYAL ENCLOSURE at Ascot": by Arthur Hopkins, R.W.S.

1890



A ROYAL BULL'S-EYE: "A distinguished company assembled to open the new National Rifle Association range at Bisley. The Princess of Wales scored an unquestionable bull's-eye. The rifle used had been well and truly laid by Sir H. Halford and Captain Nathan, but the Princess was delighted by her marksmanship"

1890



VICTORIA WITH VICTORIA ALEXANDRINA VIOLET: "Queen Victoria acted as Godmother at the christening of the infant daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Portland, in the private chapel of Windsor Castle, and approved the names Victoria Alexandrina Violet"



WAITING FOR THE COACHES AT GOODWOOD "The Goodwood Meeting—which marks the close of the London season—fully maintains its pre eminence as a select racing resort. Even Ascot is getting spoilt by its easiness of access, and is becoming rather like what Epsom was in the pre railway era The shaded lawn adjoining the stand at Goodwood is a charming spot"



1891

"AN ELYSIAN CORNER OF THE GREAT RIVER PAGEANT AT HENLEY ROYAL REGATTA"

1897

"AN AFFINITY RACE: Promoters of gymkhanas find the affinity race a very popular event. Ladies on horseback ride over the course, each holding the hand of a gentleman who must be mounted on a donkey. The race is won by the lady who manages to get her partner past the winning post first without leaving go his hand on the way. Spectators derive great fun from the struggles of the riders of the donkeys to keep in their saddles and retain the hands of their fair partners—a pleasurable feat for both participants over what seems a very long course"

1893



DO YOU REVERSE?—The Duke's Coming of Age Ball "Blenheim Palace was during the whole of last week the scene of a long round of festivities for the Coming of Age of the Duke of Marlborough On Friday evening a great Ball for the Nobility and Gentry took place in the Long Library. Invitations were sent to the *elite* of the nation Dancing was indulged in till dawn"

1895



THE BARN DANCE AT THE KHEDIVE'S STATE BALL IN CAIRO

1894



THE BARN DANCE ON BOARD H M S "MAJESTIC," flagship of the Channel Squadron

1886



A RECEPTION TO THE ABBE LISZT "The soiree given by Mr Walter Bache (8) in honour of the Abbe Liszt (5) was attended by a distinguished company, including Mr G Idschmidt (1), Sir Arthur Sullivan (2) Mr August Manus (3) Rev Henry White (4) Mr W Shakspeare (6), Herr Joachim (7) Mr Chappell (9) Sir F Leighton P R A (10) Mme Antoinette Sterling (11), Mr Charles Hallé (12) Mme Albani (13) and Sir George Macfarren (14) Liszt arrived a little after nine and a performance devoted exclusively to the master's works commenced without delay"

1889



SIMS REEVES TAKING MAUD TO THE GARDEN 'Ample and varied entertainment was provided at the monster Conversazione at South Kensington Museum Mr Sims Reeves, who was in excellent voice sang 'Dream Memories, followed by 'Come into the Garden, Maud'"



"ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON WALKING WITH HIS NURSE ON FRESHWATER DOWNS" (A sketch from life by Reginald Cleaver, a few months before the Laureate's death)

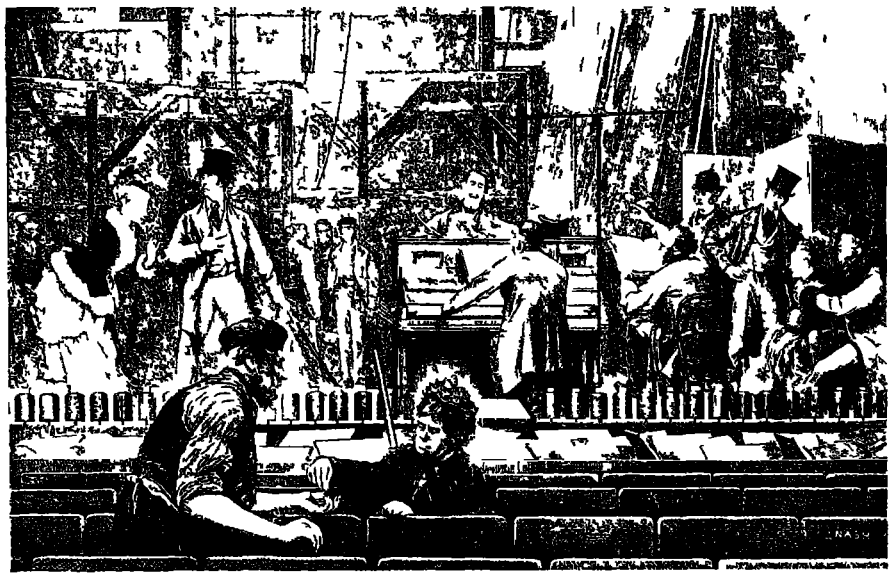


"AFTERNOON TEA AT A LAWN TENNIS TOURNAMENT Although lawn tennis has grown increasingly popular, the tea perhaps, especially in the country, plays a more important part in the afternoon's programme than the game at private and minor club tournaments"

1892

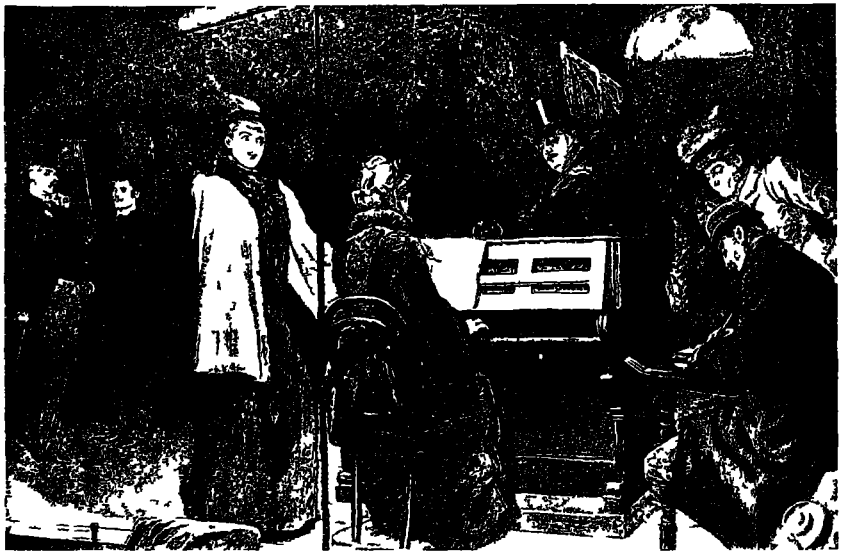
"THERE AIN'T A LIDY IN THE LAND I'D SWOP FOR ME DEAR OLD DUTCH": Albert Chevalier in a West End drawing room

1874



AN UNDRESS OPERATIC REHEARSAL AT COVENT GARDEN It is difficult to believe in Lucia di Lammermoor when you see her in a seal skin jacket and Madame Angot bonnet, nor does Edgardo impress you as much as he might when he has a tall hat and an umbrella"

1892



CHOOSING THE GAIETY CHORUS "Mrs Johnson the chorus mistress, takes her seat at the piano, the stage manager beams pleasantly, while the call boy strolls casually toward the group of girls huddled in the background A tall girl hurries down the stage, and stands facing the empty theatre, where only a housemaid sweeping out the gallery represents the brilliant Gaiety audience"

1889



"CHILDREN IN PANTOMIME In this sketch we see fully trained pupils going through complicated evolutions at rehearsal with a comparative ease that enables their mistress, Madame Katti Lanner to snatch a hasty lunch while keeping an ever watchful eye upon their performance"

1871



ALICES IN PANTOMIME WONDERLAND "We all went to Covent Garden pantomime in an omnibus with a gentleman a friend of Mamma's—I mustn't mention his name I'm the little girl in the left hand corner, with her hands clutched, only I'm sure I didn't clutch my hands because I know how to behave when I m out" (From a young girl's account in *The Graphic*)

1892



FORTY THIEVES AND A PLUMP PRINCIPAL BOY. Abdullah dying in Kassarac's arms at the Crystal Palace pantomime "as resplendent a display of theatre beauties as we remember"

1892



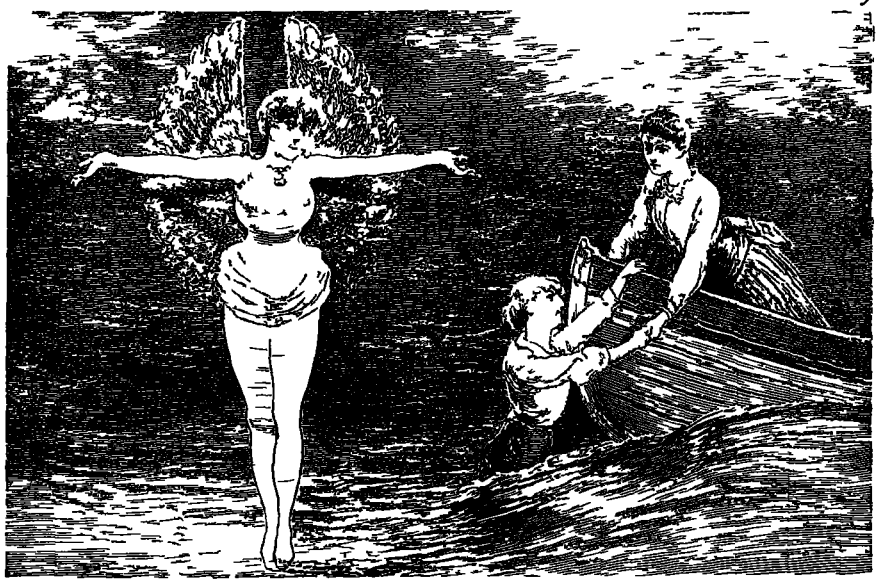
DAN LENO, MARIE LLOYD AND OTHERS: Sketches from the Drury Lane pantomime

1886



'DAISY *STALL* RUN —SCENE FROM 'A RUN OF LUCK' "Mr Augustus Harris has certainly scored another very decided success with the new sporting drama he has *written for Drury Lane Our scene represents one of the most thrilling incidents of the piece* when the hero's mare, Daisy seized for debt by the villain when about to start at Goodwood, is released by the timely appearance of her owner's father carrying in banknotes the sum owing to the dishonest bookmakers She is released and wins, redeeming her owner's fortune"

1883



NELLY FARREN CONNIE GILCHRIST, AND PHYLLIS BROUGHTON "Miss Farren's 'Ariel' with her sprightly grace and the brilliant sparks of electric lighting upon her wings, went far to atone for many shortcomings in Mr Burnand's new extravaganza 'Ariel' at the Gaiety"

1885



A LADIES' SKETCHING CLUB NEAR DORKING drawn by Arthur Hopkins.

1890



"OF DANGER ALL UNCONSCIOUS" "Mr Charlton has here illustrated one of the familiar dangers of the London roadways A hansom cab driver, acting under the policeman's directions, has just pulled up his horse in time to avoid running over two children. On the whole, the Metropolitan thoroughfares are now safer for pedestrians than they were thirty or forty years ago There was no noiseless asphalt pavement in those days and no bicycles swiftly stealing down upon the unwary but, on the other hand there were no street refuges and no constables to regulate the traffic"

1882



RATIONAL DRESS FOR LADIES "At the Hygienic Wearing Apparel Exhibition the chief object of attraction was Lady Harberton's 'divided skirt'—a skirt divided to clothe each leg separately, the underclothing being arranged as most convenient Over it an ordinary dress skirt is worn"

1896



"FASHIONABLE TOILETTES The young girl is simply attired in cigar brown woollen while the dainty dinner toilette will be useful when full dinner dress is not required With a skirt and sleeves of willow green taffetas the wearer dons a coquettish bolero jacket of fine guipure over shot pink and green silk, three finely pleated frills forming epaulettes For the happy matron who still keeps her youthful figure is a dress of plain rich black satin, the bodice almost hidden by soft frills"

1893



QUEEN MARY'S TROUSSEAU: "Princess 'May' with her mother, buying her trousseau"

1890



MADAM ARAMINTE CAME IN WITH SOME FASCINATING HATS: "Just then Madam Araminte came in with some fascinating hats. I chose one with a smart brim and some luscious foliage on the crown to wear at the bazaar opened by Princess Mary of Teck. I and five other girls had a flower stall and we all looked very nice. Our stall made more money than any of the others, which was so nice for the poor, wasn't it?" (From a Debutante's Diary)

1871



"SWIMMING AT BRIGHTON: Classes to teach ladies to swim are often held on the beach at Brighton by a distinguished professor of the art whose gallant rescues from drowning are frequently recorded in the local press. The fair pupils, often excel in the art of swimming"

1896



"SUMMER BY THE SEA: THE DIVING RAFT." A drawing by Arthur Hopkins, R.W.S.

THE RISE OF WOMAN

I believe the Victorian woman, as she has painted herself on the twentieth century's canvas, to be a portrait in fancy dress. History, or auto-suggestion, has pulled posterity's leg. A resolute queen tightly held the throne's privilege, and went beyond it to argue against the policies of great ministers. She was also a strict mother who adored (and romanticised) first her husband and then his memory. The first lady in the land, the Empire and the white world became the symbol of womanly woman, while collaborating as an equal with the best brains in politics. Womanly woman had to be the façade for womanhood in general, especially when manly Alberts by the hundred thousand expected their opposite from what they called The Sex. The rôle, in a land not yet over-populated, was easy and convenient. Among the rich, woman was presented as half-goddess and half bric-à-brac, and among the rest her part was the tender spouse if married, or if unmarried the ministering angel, whether to orphans, poorer people or Hottentots.

Mass-suggestion, arising out of a social code, is still a great game played slowly. It was a greater one among the Victorians; witness their tenet that virtue and chastity must triumph always, while wrong-doing must lead to retribution's wrath (often they do, but quite often they don't, and it is a further truism that many of the Victorian virtues were not Christ's). Just as the female body, like a lift, moves its apparent waist up and down to meet the mode, so did the female personality take social shape adopted to the accepted idea of a captive in the home, a fragility under protection; sweet virgins merging into docile matrons.

There was enough truth in the uncompleted picture to make it plausible; and we are inclined to believe in it because contrast flatters the twentieth century species. But consider a reconstruction of the girl of our own period, done in 1980 from novels and articles published between 1920 and 1930. A cropped, agile, boyish, knee-flaunting, selfish, purposeful, pretty, ungracious, vital, rude, enjoyment-mad non-maiden, obsessed by sex and complex; physically brave but morally feeble; knowing more about carburettors than cooking; whacking every kind of ball when not swilling every kind of cocktail; intelligent in fits and pretentious in starts; flying half across the world and finding contentment nowhere; entering all professions but influencing none; marrying early and often, and forever talking about her too talk-making self. Better than I, lady, you know that to be a caricature. Nevertheless, it is what books and journals from the nineteen-twenties will offer as model for a portrait.

There is less reason for the smelling-salt distortion of Victorian woman than there is for the cocktail-shaker one of our own young person, since Victorian literature, from Dickens to Samuel Butler by way of Thackeray and Trollope,

was rich in ruling wives, while no comic paper dared bring out an issue without a hen-pecked husband (a type now almost extinct, although the chicken-pecked abound). And the "sheikh," as lover, is a fictional product of our own time; the only ones I can recall from Victorian literature are the Heathcliff and the Rochester created by Emily and Charlotte Bronte, tameless spinsters. Mr. Moulton-Barrett, of Wimpole Street, flourished under Victoria, but so did many Mrs. Caudles and Lady Caudles.

The truth is that only early Victorian women were fragile fainters, upon whom strong males could pull the Heathcliff. And even these brought up the Bronte sisters, Florence Nightingale, George Eliot, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Christina Rosetti, and Josephine Butler. Mid-Victorian women established for themselves a scheme of things far more comfortable than that of their fore-runners under the Regency or in the eighteenth century. To be arbiter of the home and ruler of the bedchamber was a right won by years of subtle assertion, and seldom ceded except by weaklings. Beyond that, they had reformed their males out of raffish habits learned under George IV, and had made the smoking-before-ladies taboo a symbol of family refinement. Going further, they made themselves the jury of culture, the controllers of uplift, the assessors of gentility and community life.

It was the late Victorians that generated "the new woman" in quantity. Her worst difficulty was not male resentment (though this had to be faced) but obstruction from the full weight of feminine opinion, of which Queen Victoria was the apex. Twice during the 'eighties reforming bodies canvassed the Commons, and discovered a private majority for woman's suffrage. Mr. Gladstone (like Mrs. Gladstone) made a dead set against it; but even without his veto against effective attention, a voting majority would still not have come into the lists, because such a measure ran counter to the social formula dispensed by the sheltered woman in bulk. And while men sponsored, though with heavily amused patronage, the arrival of "the golf girl," the squire's lady often used her to point an Awful Warning. The only feminist demands with a majority support from women concerned personal property. Even the queen and the squire's lady held it to be wrong that before the 'eighties married women should have no legal rights in their own possessions (until 1870 they were not entitled to keep their own earnings).

They must have been brave ones indeed, the pioneers in corset and bustle who walked ahead, knowing that round the corner they would be ambushed by scandal. Censors in side-whiskers led shock-charges of impropriety to enforce the boudoir rulings. Agitation by a woman against a social rot relating to sex was an offence against the predominant niceness; and, as in the case of a divorce scandal, the punishment was ostracism. Josephine Butler came near social martyrdom when she first forced upon the national conscience the position of "fallen women," and started public agitation over the age of consent.

Instinct told the pioneers that higher education was needed for emancipation. "I have often," Defoe had written in his Essay on Projects, "thought of it as one of the most barbarous customs in the world, considering us as a civilised and a Christian country, that we deny the advantage of learning to women. We reproach

the sex every day with folly and impertinence, while I am confident, had they the advantage of education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than ourselves."

Stray young women, well chaperoned, crept almost surreptitiously into the lecture rooms of universities, or persuaded professors to give them private readings. Emily Davies, through her energetic collections, was able in 1870 to buy land to house girl students at Hitchin, and then to move her college near to Cambridge; and so began Girton, which claimed to be far enough from the men students for moral safety. Professor Henry Sidgwick, in 1871, adapted a house in Cambridge itself as a feminine college; and so began Newnham, with Anna Jemima Clough as principal. Oxford's Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall arrived late in the 'seventies,

> With prudes for proctors, dowagers for deans,
> And sweet girl graduates in their golden hair.

It has not been recognised how greatly Lord Tennyson's line contributed, through his reputation for the orthodox, toward giving the girl graduate respectability at a time when she was a strange animal. Her sweetness, however, dwelt in her solemnity rather than in allurement. She was deadly serious. The pioneers, to whom social reform had earlier given a sense of mission, taught her that to fail in an examination was to dim a torch for the future of womanhood.

Teaching was at first the only outlet after college. Graduates dispersed into high schools, new and old, and injected them with earnestness and erudition. Some founded on their own schools "for the daughters of gentlefolk," some appeared on the School Boards in London and the northern cities. Other citadels fell more hardily. Hands froze in horror before ample bosoms when women doctors tried to qualify. Elizabeth Garret Anderson, refused a degree by London University and not admitted to study in English hospitals, took her medical doctorate in Paris. Sophia Jex-Blake went for hers to Berne and Dublin. Because of the obstruction from niceness, years of endeavour by the London School of Medicine for Women passed before either could set up in regular practice.

Medicine, education and occasional journalism were the only professions opened (W. T. Stead employed a woman on the regular staff of his *Pall Mall Gazette,* but she was alone in Fleet Street until *The Daily Mail's* foundation in the 'nineties introduced the sob-sister as reporter). The arts offered a wider opportunity, but in painting only Lady Butler reached Academy eminence between 1870 and 1900; cavalry charges on Salisbury Plain were specially arranged for her attention. And an odd thing was that women's literary attainments among the late Victorians, who saw feminine emancipation, were far below those among the early Victorians, who made the emancipation necessary. It could not have been a case of cause and effect; now that emancipation has run amok, our women writers are a band unexampled in period literature.

With so much turmoil in education and social reform, the agitation over woman's suffrage hesitated in the background. It was a delicious note that a body

calling itself the Kensington Ladies Discussion Society should have been its earliest political organisers, who stood behind John Stuart Mill's effort in 1870, leading to a Second Reading in the Commons. After Mill, Rhoda Garrett became public orator of the cause, Lydia Becker its lobbyist and the Women's Suffrage Committee its headquarters. Without arousing wide interest, they held meetings that heartened the converted. Still-born resolutions appeared and disappeared in Parliament. Outside Parliament the movement won ground slowly, while its opposition became active through petitions that included the signature of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, that intellectual she-elephant.

It was ironic that, amid all the fighting endeavour over things of the mind, a bodily phase should have done most to save the late Victorian girl from being a fixture in the home. The sudden rage for sport, which coursed through England's veins in the 'eighties, did not impel the young person to cast off stuffiness with a quick bound; but it did carry her into an attractive form of self-assertion, without strain upon the intelligence which she did not yet use in quantity. The elders of niceness wanted to hold back the girl who golfed and played tennis without benefit of chaperon; but her advantage in health was an argument insulated against sane disapproval. And, energetic games being conceded, a rational dress could not be kept waiting for long. The freedom of the limbs came with little effort. Swaddled legs served for croquet, but soon became impossible for tennis worth the name. By the time when safety bicycles permitted excursions over fragrant miles in mixed young company, it could be noted that girls had not only hocks but a rising curve for calves (this apart from the short-lived revival for cycling of Mrs. Amelia Bloomer's rotund costume, which Amelia herself had abandoned in 1865). Exercise in the open was as pleasant an emancipation as any in history.

* * * * *

As postscript, I should point out that generalisations on the women of any era must be half-truths. I have erred, through condensation, in making statements too downright for human nature in its fullness. Victorian women, on their different background, were as varied and fundamentally unchanging as those to whom a glut of newsprint has been given in recent years (the generalisations on what modern woman is, is not, should be and may become are as fabulous as the Jabberwock, but less amusing). It is, though, a completely rounded fact that some women in the last thirty years under Victoria, whether blue-stockings or adventurers in reform, dared the prevailing gods more bravely than is now possible, even though a girl pilot flies round the world alone. Brought up under restrictions that hid their own nature and the simple meaning of sex, they tore down totems knowing that though their successors might benefit, they themselves could be sure only of resentment and ridicule. Their gravity and tension had absurd sides, of which Beachcombers of the period took advantage; but their fortitude, like their loneliness, stayed unrelenting.

1885



A LADY B.A. OF LONDON UNIVERSITY: "Tennyson's 'Princess' does not seem to have been published a great while ago, and yet what a change has taken place since then in female education! The sweet girl graduate, then a pleasing fantasy, has now become a common object. The peculiar combination of ingredients, mental, moral, and physical that make up that delightful entity, a nice English girl, have not sensibly deteriorated. But girls are more delicately organised than boys, and intellectual development at the cost of diminished bodily health is a bad bargain"

1872



"THUNDERSTORM AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE TEMPERANCE FETE"

1871



BATTLEDOOR AND SHUTTLECOCK IN A CHELSEA GARDEN.

" Oh cork ! " I cried, " that through the air,
Fliest in turn from fair to fair,
Thus flies my heart with fluttering care
From Kate to Nancy.
We're puzzled by that pretty pair,
I rather fancy "

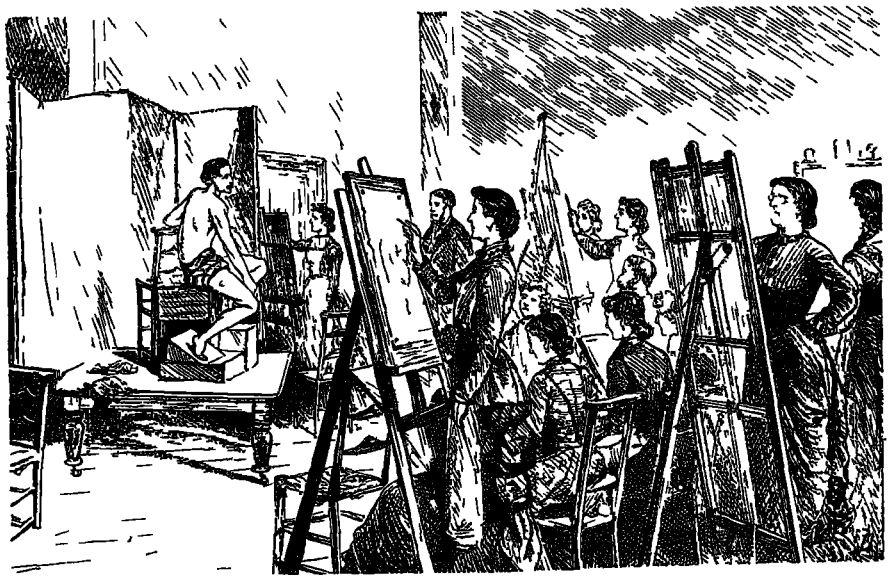
Alfred Perceval Graves.

1871



OPERATORS AT WORK IN THE MAIN TELEGRAPH OFFICE IN LONDON "No fewer than 539 females are employed in this office alone, while the district branches are worked by a staff almost wholly composed of young and generally well-bred women, an experiment which has answered to perfection Both the Government and the public reap the advantage of this, since a trustworthy staff is obtained for far smaller salaries than would be paid to a similar class of men"

1881



"A MIXED LIFE CLASS, WITH MALE MODEL, IN THE SLADE SCHOOL OF ART"



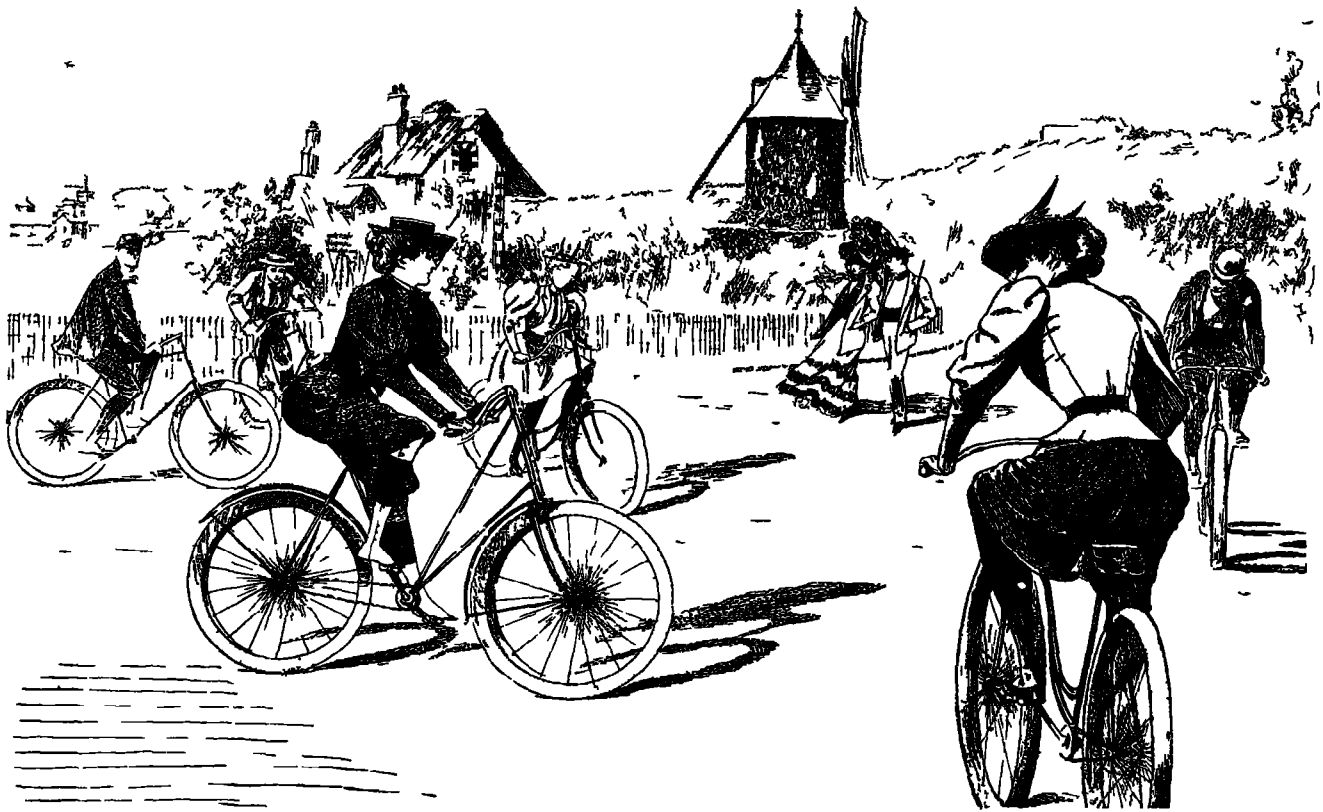
RHODA GARRETT ASKS WHY NOT "It will be remembered that the Women s Disabilities Bill was thrown out the other day in the Commons, although 160 members either voted or paired in favour of the second reading A crowded meeting was held on May 17th at Hanover Square Rooms in support of the movement, which aims at the same parliamentary franchise that women now enjoy for municipal purposes This demand seems so harmless and so logical that some persons may wonder at the opposition it excited in Parliament Dr Lyon Playfair presided, but the other speakers were ladies, and they showed such talent that no wonder our M P 's fear to meet them in debate The chief speakers, were Mrs Fawcett, Mrs Mark Pattison, Miss Ernestine Rose, Miss Lydia E Becker, and Miss Rhoda Garrett"

1880

THE FIGHT GOES ON—RHODA GARRETT CONTINUES TO ASK WHY NOT "The meeting held on May 6th at St James's Hall in favour of women's suffrage will, we doubt not, prove only the forerunner of many similar assemblies The meeting was an undeniable success The Presidentess, Viscountess Harberton, was 'supported' by a number of lady delegates from important towns in all parts of the country, while the hall was crowded from floor to ceiling with women of all social grades, all earnest and enthusiastic The principal resolution declaring that the franchise should be exercised by women, was carried all but unanimously, the solitary dissentient being a courageous man in the gallery Amongst the speakers were Miss R Garrett, Miss Taylor, Miss Becker, Miss Todd, and Miss Downing"



CHAIRING A LADY WRANGLER AT NEWNHAM: "There were great rejoicings at Newnham College when it became known that a Miss Johnson had beaten all Cambridge men in the second and final part of the Mathematical Tripos. The undergraduates drank her health at a dinner in the Old Hall, and Miss Johnson returned thanks in orthodox male fashion. After dinner, as no more original plan could be devised for expressing their enthusiasm than that inaugurated by their despised male competitors, the successful lady wrangler was chaired"



"THE LATEST CRAZE. A MEETING OF LADY BICYCLISTS ON THE NEW SAFETY CYCLES, NEAR BARNET."

1894



AN EAST END GYMNASIUM FOR GIRLS "These girls will become better wives and be the mothers of healthier children than if they were brought up in the style hitherto considered proper"

1850



"SHOULD LADIES RIDE ASTRIDE?" Conservatives in the present controversy over riding astride for ladies have made no use of their most powerful argument Nature did not build that lovely edifice, woman, with legs of sufficient length to throw over a horse Consequently she must either cling to the present graceful fashion, or resort to the ignominy of a chair"

STATE OCCASIONS

THOUGH Albert the Good had been nine years buried in 1870, Victoria stayed in a seclusion that was absolute except when foreign potentates arrived, royal princesses were married, or heroes from the wars came to be decorated. She saw Ministers, and from the background followed every inch of policy, but the shade of her lost Consort dimmed the Queen's relations with her people. She became (if the point made be too refined) almost a myth to the nation, and unpopular.

Even when potentates, princesses and heroes drew her forth, the classes saw her only through the eyes of artists for the illustrated journals, and the masses not at all; a solid little figure with a masterful mouth, swathed in a black crape robe surmounted by a white veil, and very rarely by a crown. A closed carriage was the rule in the streets, an isolated exception being the State drive to St. Paul's in 1872, for thanksgiving when the Prince of Wales recovered from typhoid. Victorianism in manners and the Home went on without direct impetus from its begetter.

Princess Louise wedded the Marquess of Lorne; a family event at Windsor. The Persian Shah came to England; the English Queen received him formally, but was pleased, and showed bleak amusement, when his odd friendship with the Princess of Wales opened the way for Alexandra to play deputy royal hostess. The Tsar of Russia arrived; his welcome was in Windsor's privacy. She caused herself to be proclaimed Empress of India; the new title was trumpeted before Indian crowds with pageantry and imagery, but the Empress merely gave a banquet at which Disraeli, in conscious violation of etiquette, could propose the health of his plump Faery Queen. Flags were accepted and medals pinned on in Windsor Castle; Sir Garnet and other conquerors were bidden to Balmoral. Parliament was usually opened by Royal Commission, instead of by the Queen's presence; and in private letters Victoria complained against the thoughtlessness of those who wanted a lone widow woman to attend in person. She wandered from Osborne to Windsor, Windsor to Balmoral and back again. There were years when she never came to London.

This invisibility caught the nation's imagination in time. The mystery became august and the myth real after Disraeli had seen to it, during his last Ministry, that the country should learn of the sense of duty and the love of country behind the Queen's isolation. Stories of kindness to cottagers near the castles (they were always the tidy ones, for Victoria hated squalor and could not understand destitution) helped to change the new interest into affection. By the middle of the 'eighties England, stimulated by the very length of its lost contact, was eager for the Jubilee celebrations of 1887.

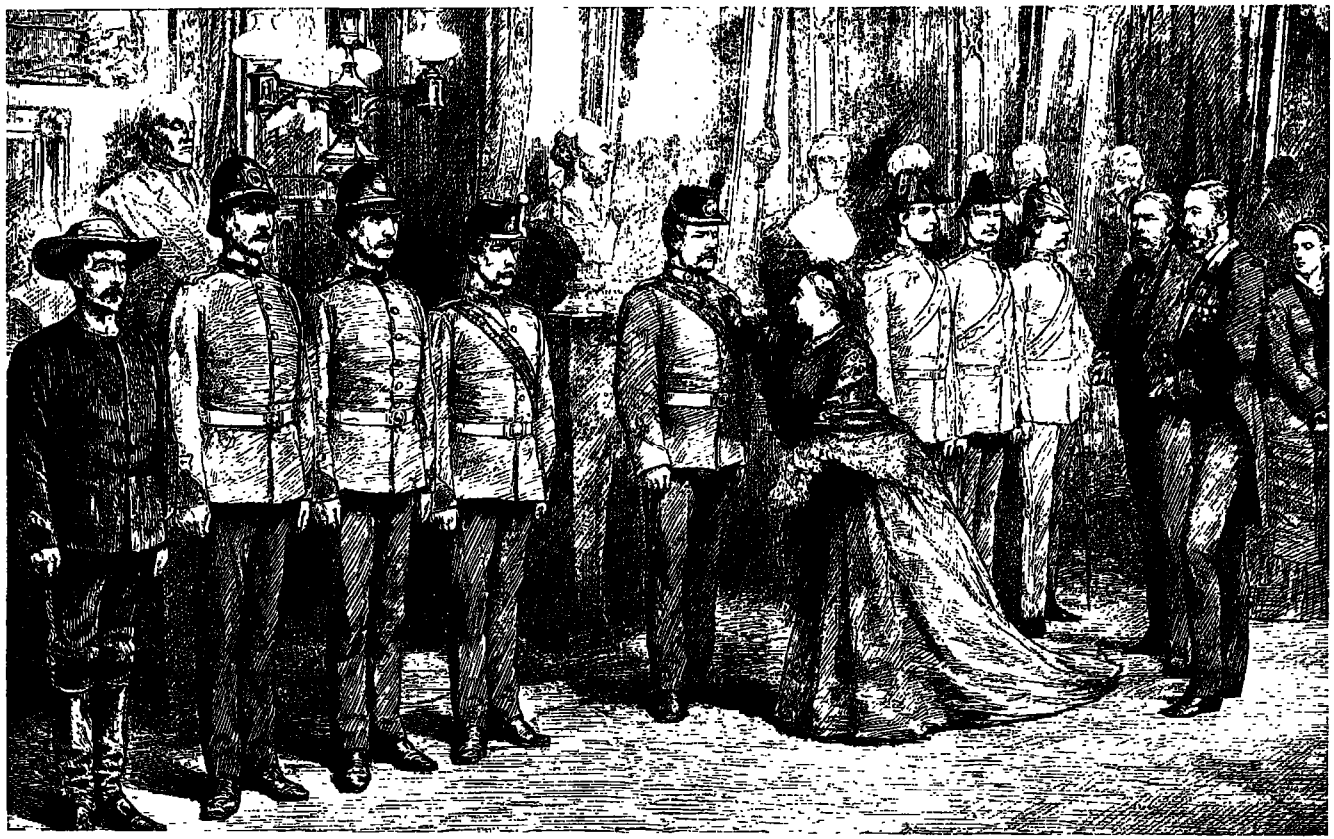


HER MAJESTY WORE A SHORT, BLACK SILK DRESS "The sun ought to have been shining but, in fact, the rain was falling when Her Majesty received her guests to the garden party at Windsor Castle Flowers abounded everywhere, the Guards' band played brave music, and the Royal plate was displayed in all its glory Her Majesty wore a short black silk dress trimmed with crape, the Princess of Wales a short dress of sky blue, and Princess Mary of Teck a dress of violet silk and black lace"

Old, stout, lame, the Queen dreaded the Abbey service and the pomp in the streets; she wept before leaving the Palace. She declined to wear State robes, and was the only royal personage not resplendent in a cavalcade unique in Europe's history. Kings, Crown Princes from the West and East; seventeen sons, grandsons, sons-in-law and grandsons-in-law riding in brilliant uniforms behind her carriage; dazzlement everywhere; London hoarse from cheering. It was in the Abbey that her instinct to avoid State robes displayed its sureness. The kings, the princesses with flashing jewels, the Ambassadors and generals had taken their places when a little dumpy lady, in a black satin dress with white trimmings, chin erect under a black and white bonnet joined to a plain white train, alone before her train-bearers, walked very slowly to her seat of worship; Queen of England, Empress of India, mother to half the royalties in Europe, symbol of simplicity and grandeur. The contrast electrified the Abbey and the world outside. She intoned the responses, heard the Te Deum composed by her Albert thirty years earlier, kissed her relations, went back to meet the roaring mob. The day ended with the Queen who was a legend promoted to the status of best-loved reality in England.

The ordeal over, she appeared more often. The dead Consort's shadow lessened. Having shown herself to the people, she spoke to thousands of them, in a clear intonation, at the opening of the Imperial Institute. She visited Manchester to release the Ship Canal. She attended a few other functions in the early and middle 'nineties, and was pleased at evoking louder cheers than Edward and Alexandra could evoke.

The Diamond Jubilee in 1897 was less royal and more Imperial. All the Colonial Premiers arrived, and Colonial troops varied the pageant. London went wild again, but repetition brought a touch of flatness. An Abbey ceremony as long as that of 1887 was impossible; the Queen's vitality was ebbing (Gladstone, meeting her at Nice in the spring of the year, had noted that her mind wandered). A short service was held on the steps of St. Pauls, so that Victoria could attend in her carriage. Once more the contrast—simplicity in a bonnet surrounded by massed resplendency—rose above the day's splendour. She was able to give a garden party at Buckingham Palace, which emptied Parliament to such an extent that Salisbury's Government, with its cast-iron majority, met defeat three times in an afternoon. With the duty to celebrate finally fulfilled, she went back to the bath-chair comfort from which death took her in the first year of the new century.



ZULU AND AFGHAN WAR HEROES: "The ceremony performed at Windsor was simple, brief and conducted in semi-privacy. The brave fellows who by special deeds of daring had earned Royal recognition, were drawn up in a corridor whither came the Queen, accompanied by Lord Chelmsford. Trooper Brown, Frontier Light Horse, in his velveteen and 'wide-awake' hat, was the object of much curiosity"

1874

BLUEJACKET REVIEW "On St. George's Day, the gallant little band of Seamen and Marines who did such good service during the late war against Ashantee was reviewed by Her Majesty in the Royal Clarence Victualling Yard, Gosport. The Queen took her stand under a dais, and the usual march past took place—the bluejackets in particular going past the fashionable gathering in splendid style"

1889



BIRTH OF ROMANCE ON THE MOORS: The Princess Louise of Wales obtains her first view of Lord Fife at a Sandringham shooting party (From a sketch by Sydney P. Hall)

1874



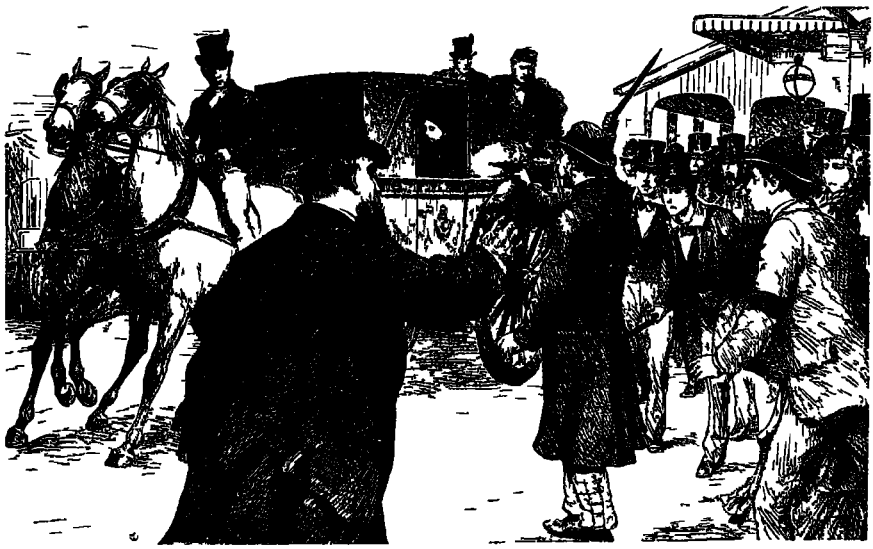
"THE NEW DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH'S FIRST VIEW OF WINDSOR CASTLE"

1882



"THE QUEEN, WITH PRINCESS BEATRICE, RECEIVES SIR GARNET WOLSELEY at Balmoral on his return from his successful campaign against Arabi Pasha in Egypt"

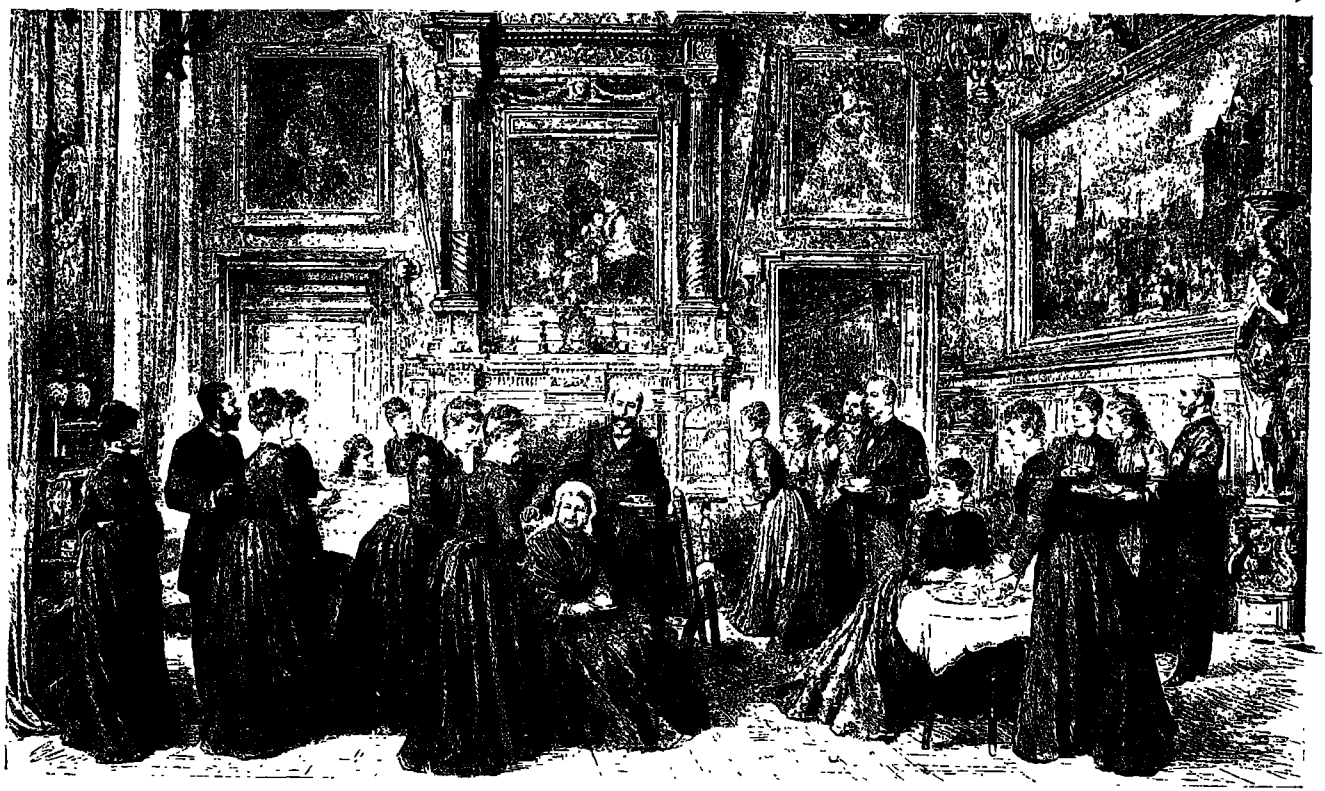
1882



AN ATTEMPT ON THE QUEEN "Intense horror and alarm were created all over the country by the attempt made to shoot the Queen Her Majesty, on reaching Windsor, had seated herself in a carriage drawn by a pair of greys, when the miscreant Maclean drew a revolver and fired A photographer and several Eton boys rushed forward, and he was disarmed and arrested"

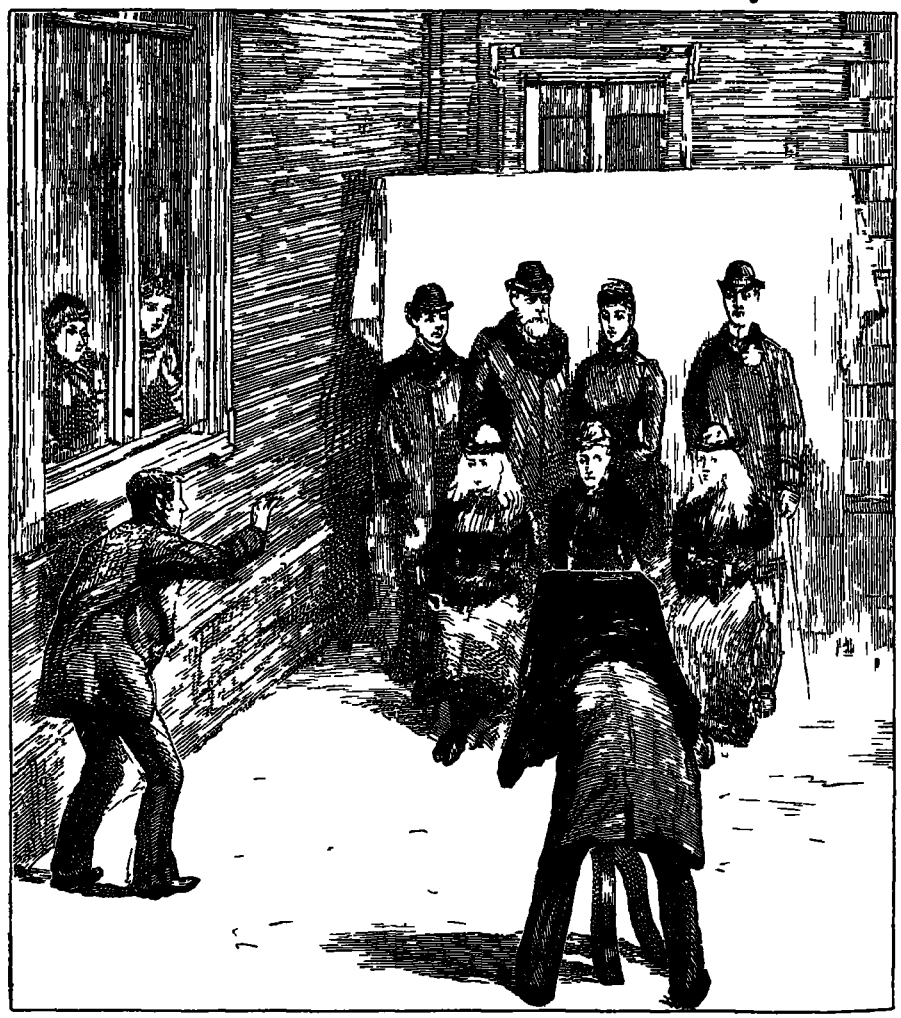
1887

HER MAJESTY EMBRACES: "Her Majesty had been much moved during the Jubilee Service and now the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family advanced to the Coronation Chair, bent the knee and kissed the hand of the Queen, who embraced each affectionately."



TEA AT SANDRINGHAM DURING THE QUEEN'S VISIT: "The shooting party over, one is just in the mood, after a change of garments, to enjoy tea in the hall. The tea table is presided over by the Princess of Wales herself, as youthful in aspect as her own daughters. Guests seldom sit down to tea, but settle wherever they please, perhaps listening to a few rambling notes on the piano, or admiring the little green parrot on top of his cage, who gives three very emphatic cheers for the Queen during conversational pauses"

1885



"NOT THE HAPPIEST MOMENT IN THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES' LIVES It is not every day that a young man comes of age who is second in succession to the British Crown, and this is an occasion when the photographer is called—to be photographed is a penalty of the great It hardly gives them the happiest moments of their lives—as for example the group 'taken' the other day of the Duke of Clarence and Prince George with their royal parents and sisters"



EXTRACTION OF A ROYAL TOOTH (from a sketch by Dr. J. A. Gray, surgeon to the Amir of Afghanistan): "I was sent for by Prince Nasrullah, who held a polite conversation with me for some little time, and then explained that a worm had eaten one of his teeth, and was causing him great pain. After examination, I decided that the worm-eaten tooth had better be removed. A soldier was sent galloping off to the Kabul Hospital for a case of tooth instruments, and His Highness seated himself in the chair, three pages being delegated to hold respectively his astiakhan hat, a spittoon, and a silver cup containing water. I fitted the forceps round the tooth, and with a twist of the wrist pulled it out. His Highness was exceedingly gratified that the operation was successful, and presented me with a suit of clothes, which unfortunately were much too small for me. Glancing up as soon as it was over, I saw that the soldiers of the body guard had formed themselves in double line as a guard of honour before the window down the garden"

1895



JOE CHAMBERLAIN AND SOME CHIEFTAINS: "After the three Bechuana chiefs laid their presents before Her Majesty's feet at Windsor, they each received through Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary for the Colonies, a handsomely bound Bechuana Testament and a framed portrait of the Queen. They have been vastly impressed with all they have seen in England, but say they will be put down as romancers when they arrive home. They are luckier than Lobengula's envoys were, since they have no superior chief to tell them they are liars, and order their execution"

EMPIRE OCCASIONS

Outside Westminster and Whitehall, the Englishman in 1870 knew little of his growing Empire. He hardly realised that he had one. The Indian Mutiny, the last Empire war of consequence, was ten years past; but although the East India Company's provinces were now a Crown possession, the citizen at home continued to regard them as a place where nabobs made fortunes and careers were to be had for younger sons.

Canada he vaguely considered a vast space coloured red on the map, consisting of snow, forest, furs and virgin land, with lonely Englishmen hewing down pines to build habitations. Redskins, picturesque but troublesome, hampered the adventurous paleface, as did half-breeds and argumentative Frenchies; and the ring of rifles against the splosh-splosh of canoes completed his backwoods orchestration.

Australasia was too remote for attention, except from large families without income who thought of emigration, or remittance men too wild for home consumption. The Antipodean picture was of squatters with slouch hats and pannikins of tea; the bush and bushranger, the stockwhip and rough justice; sheep, horses and Maoris, whom some held to be a breed of cattle.

Africa was more actual. Diamonds had been found, and stories were about of sudden wealth to be had for the picking along the Vaal River. News of skirmishes against the Kaffirs also helped to keep British South Africa in people's minds; and the idea had already been propagated of how rugged Boer and high-minded Briton, on a background of ardently Christian principles, were some day to live in brotherhood under the Union Jack. Livingstone, lesser Livingstones, missionary societies, and crusaders against slave-trading helped to keep other parts of the Dark Continent in the national consciousness.

Disraeli, who had the East in his eyes, rediscovered Imperialism for England. When he bought the Khedive's Suez Canal shares (and in the same year the Prince of Wales reached Bombay) "the highway to India" became a phrase of the moment. Queen Victoria's proclamation as Empress of India brought parliamentary criticism—"this preposterous innovation . . . this tawdry addition to the ancient style of the sovereign of England"—but it dazzled the nation.

Annexation became a habit in the 'seventies, and in the 'eighties Gladstone could not stop it. The process was made popular as a regeneration for lands which, by error in the workings of Providence, had come into the possession of backward blacks or of white races unfit to govern. Fiji was annexed, Cyprus was ceded and annexed, Zululand, Basutoland and the territory of the Ashantis were annexed. Sir Bartle Frere, in South Africa, felt a dual mission to spread the Gospel and annex territory. Sir Theophilus Shepstone proclaimed an annexation of the Trans-

vaal republic, "it being the wish of Her Most Gracious Majesty that the State shall enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of the people."

Gladstone's tub-thumping in Midlothian denounced among other things "the free subjects of a republic being coerced by the free subjects of a monarchy." Still, he did not withdraw from the Transvaal when the electorate gave him a big majority, but temporised until the battle at Majuba Hill removed by force a province that might have returned through grandiloquent gesture. He did withdraw General Roberts from Afghanistan; and it was due to him that expansion through most of the 1880's became a matter of moral plus commercial, instead of military plus titular penetration. It went on through export of the Bible and less spiritual commodities. The British North Borneo Company gave England a protectorate under the banner of trade. Almost by accident, Nigeria was opened up by what became the Royal Niger Company. Gold in Rhodesia brought the treaty with Lobengula, and the Charter of the British South Africa Company. The British East Africa Company reaped profits where Livingstone had sown the Gospel. Concessions drew Matabeleland into the unlimited liability partnership. Millions of consumers were to be had in Darkest Africa for goods and Christianity. Millions of pounds worth of gold, copper, coffee, cocoa, spice and diamonds, not to mention ivory, apes and peacocks, were there to be fetched. Britons found them, fought against fever, privation and natives, lived hard and remorselessly died. And gentlemen in London Wall grew ever more prosperous, while the stone of the Royal Exchange acquired the deeply graven dictum, "The Earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."

The time came when the new markets needed more than concessions for their development. Like so many babies born out of wedlock, the territories of chartered companies were laid on the doorstep of the national maternity home. Mr. Gladstone preached to the parents, but hesitated to acknowledge the offspring. Lord Salisbury, when he came into power, was more tolerant; he fed the babies with military force, and clothed them in the Union Jack. They thrived under Joe Chamberlain as head nurse; their rattles sounded round the world.

The 'nineties showed an Imperialism more fervent than any since Elizabeth, and with reason. Britain held the balance of power in Europe, and further off her armies won victories. Egypt and the Nile were well under control. Upper Burmah, with its mines for precious stones, had been added to India. Russian influence was checked on the North-West Frontier. Trade depression was over, unemployment receded, prosperity advanced; England was All Sir Garnet. The mood of ascendancy found the men to guide it. Cecil Rhodes, as practical a dreamer as any in history, persuaded the City that Empire was first-class business; Chamberlain, from the Colonial Office, convinced a willing electorate that it was good policy; Rudyard Kipling stirred the nation by glorifying it in song as a race of strong rulers. The shop-assistant fancied himself a nabob, and was grateful for having been born an Englishman instead of a Russian or Prussian. And acquisition followed annexation—Zanzibar, Malaya, ports in China. Extermination of

barbarism went hand in hand with expansion of Empire; the two, indeed, were Siamese twins. A small British mission pushed through the jungle to persuade the King of Benin to put down human sacrifice. It was ambushed and massacred on its way back. "Benin will now," wrote a leader-writer of the 'nineties, "become a British Protectorate *in the natural course of events.*"

Adventurous young men carried round the world, with their white man's burden, the dinner-jacket and the sahib status. Mr. Kipling's banjo (*pukka, pukka, pooka, pukka, pom-pom*) strummed them onward. Many died, some returned to hard-earned pensions, a few made incidental fortunes. And so to Kitchener's reconquest of the Soudan, the first Imperial Conference at the Diamond Jubilee, and a war that made the all-red South Africa which Rhodes and Lombard Street intended fifteen years earlier.

The leading colonies, meanwhile, rose through adolescence to shape their own adult future, and intruded less upon the English consciousness than did the troublesome territories. Canada, the first Dominion, had sporadic rebellions and religious disputes, but in general citizens of England and French stock settled down in peace to promote plenty. There were arguments with the United States, but only the Alabama raids and Fenian forays across the border had substantial echoes in London. Not until English capital was invited for the immense adventure of railroads across the continent, which brought British Columbia into the Federal Union and populated the West's great wheatlands, did the nation recognise the fullness of the Canadian future. Downing Street then studied jealously the contacts which were drawing Canada nearer to the United States, and by encouraging investment stimulated Sir John Macdonald's campaign for tariff loyalties. The period closed with Sir Wilfred Laurier, a Liberal premier of French extraction, looming large at the Diamond Jubilee, and with Canada prominent in the Empire as a country of high energy and splendid probabilities, absorbing settlers in fine-planned towns and cities as well as in the grainlands; but with the ghost of possible absorption by the United States not yet laid.

Australia, with New Zealand (whose history is that of a colony, largely adopted by Scotsmen, overcoming with vigour its Maori problems and merging into a model Dominion) remained an insistently loyal section in the pattern of Empire. Australians were the first to support a British war (the Soudan in 1885) with colonial troops, recruited through a militia that could collect hard-riding, straight-shooting men at a moment's notice.

Until Canadian prosperity arrived in the 'nineties, Australia was the favourite field for emigration. After a series of gold rushes, the thinly settled continent had hard work for all and a good price for most men's labour. Because of isolation, its troubles were all internal. The aborigines died out, or were forced into the uncharted interior, but bushrangers were a dangerous thorn that had to be grasped, and there was difficulty in choking Chinese immigration. Then, after it had been established that settlers must be white, wages rose to heights that staggered English artisans, while an adventurous population pushed ahead, even though capital was scarce, with railways, mining, farm-

ing, fruit-growing and especially sheep-grazing. The high wages, which continued to rise until the riots of 1890, gave Labour an early start in politics. The movement toward an Australian federation was checked by jealousies between the separate States, so pronounced that New South Wales and Victoria ran their railways on different gauges, in case of active hostility. The constitution for a united Australia, which could not be drafted until 1898, was then largely impelled by desire to form a more important unit of Empire.

In India, the 'seventies and 'eighties were golden days of consolidation. The native Princes, sensitive to memories of the Mutiny, allied themselves with the Queen's Viceroys and kept to their bargains. The victories of Roberts in Afghanistan impressed the bazaars, and firm action against raiders kept the North-West Frontier safe. A Civil Service trained in adaptation to the mentalities of Hindu and Moslem, supported by an army in which colonels acted as ex-officio Managing Directors and Father Confessors of native regiments, did much, and did it well, in education, engineering, railway-building, irrigation, relief of famine and sanitation. The reward was profitable trade in English goods, especially after Lord Ripon's remission of import duties. The Indian Nationalist Congress reared its head in 1883, but disaffection was slight before the 'nineties. By then seditious elements from Brahmin and Russian sources had obtained a medium among the educated or semi-educated Hindus, trained in English thought, who resented the social cold-shouldering which was the worst aspect of Sahib-rule in the East. Years of drought, famine, pestilence and increased taxation after the Burmese and frontier wars further promoted sedition; but with plenty of warlike Gurkhas, Sikhs and Punjabis anxious to serve as soldiers, Simla, not foreseeing the future, gave slight attention to the windy sedition of Hindu groups in Bombay. For the rest, the use of Indian troops in British wars became a habit which some in England did not like—"We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do, We'll stay at home and sing our songs, and send the mild Hindoo."

South Africa was one of the two main storm-centres of Empire; the Soudan being the other. Cape Colony, in 1870, had become a sudden paradise for diggers. The diamond mines promoted a condition of luxury unknown to agricultural Dutchmen of the neighbouring Transvaal and Orange Free State. New arrivals by the thousand, including Cecil Rhodes, brought new ambitions to a small self-governed colony under which Briton and Cape Boer had lived at peace. The search for diamonds and ivory extended the white horizon even further, until black war-clouds were met. A long series of Kaffir skirmishes acquired the familiarity of habit, and it needed a jolt like the massacre by Zulus at Isandhlana to make England understand that here was a colony of many problems.

No sooner had Wolseley finished with the Zulus than the Transvaal Boers took arms against annexation, and won Majuba Hill. The English colonists were left humiliated by Mr. Gladstone's temporisation; and "nationalism" in South Africa was born in an atmosphere of wounded pride on the one hand and arrogant obstinacy on the other. The Afrikander Bund was formed, with Republican aims: the aim was to have all South Africa under the Boer flag, leaving to Britain only

Simon's Bay as a naval station. The English colonists, as a counter-measure, formed the Empire League. Cecil Rhodes, whose stature continued to grow in the Cape Parliament, kept always before him his vision of a South Africa united under Great Britain. As head of the British South African Company he gave his name to Rhodesia when Mashonaland was hazardously settled, as Cape Premier he was obliged by Boer hostility to think of annexing the obstinate republics.

Samples of gold reached London from the Transvaal. To newly-formed Johannesburg came a flock of Jews and Gentiles, and much British capital. A reactionary President, sitting on his *stoep* with a bible, a pipe, and a spittoon seemed to care for none of these things. "What do we want with gold and mines?" asked Kruger. "We are an agricultural people." Yet the old man gave monopolies to suit himself, levied huge tariffs and charges for transport, and refused the "Uitlanders" in Johannesburg a vote. Gold, lots of it, was mined. Johannesburg gold made the Transvaal rich in revenue and the City of London richer in profits; but Kruger went on harrying the British Uitlander.

Rhodes, manipulating political difficulties at the Cape, financial ones inside the British South African Company's territory, and racial ones over half a continent, waited his chance to plant England's fist upon the Boer jawbone. Britons in every part of South Africa remembered Majuba, and felt betrayed by Downing Street. The Uitlanders in Johannesburg started a Reform movement—meetings, deputations to the immovable image at Pretoria, plots, telegrams in code. Dr. Jameson's sudden invasion of the Transvaal, with a few British officers and 500 men from the Bechuanaland border, fired the train. It had been arranged that he should join up with armed Uitlanders in Johannesburg. His venture failed through impetuosity, insufficient staff work and bad luck. Dr. Jim and his associates went to prison in London under the Foreign Enlistment Act, but became heroes of the moment to an aroused nation. Rhodes, though proof was wanting, undoubtedly connived at Jameson's raid; and reproof from the Select Committee of investigation in London made his resignation from the Cape premiership inevitable. But before his return to South Africa, he and Joseph Chamberlain understood one another over future policy.

With the appeal, three years after, of twenty thousand Transvaal Uitlanders to the Queen, the Imperial Government acted. Milner's report upon his doomed conference with Kruger and on "the spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of Helots . . . calling vainly to Her Majesty's Government for redress" preceded a frigid interval in which both sides to the dispute collected troops, organised armament and waited for patriotic feeling to reach boiling point. The century ended with the Boers winning victory after early victory in a war that brought Imperialistic fervour to its climax, before delayed success in arms gave Britain the last of the great Dominions, and the hardest of her racial problems now that an Empire is merging into a Commonwealth.

1873



LIBERATING SLAVES AFTER THE CAPTURE OF SLAVE BOATS by Sir Samuel Baker's Expedition up the Nile "A vessel hove in sight apparently laden with corn and ivory A zealous subordinate of Baker's thrust a steel ramrod into the corn A smothered cry followed, leading to the discovery of 150 boys, girls, and women packed like herrings in a barrel"

1872



DR LIVINGSTONE AND MR STANLEY SPURN THE PAPERS "We were near Lake Tanganyika when messengers returned from Zanzibar with nearly 100 newspapers, full of the most wonderful news—the Paris Commune in arms against the National Assembly, and devilry at work in the most beautiful city in the world We spurned the papers with our feet, and for relief gazed on the comic side of our world as illustrated in the innocent pages of *Punch*"

1885



REBELLION IN CANADA The engagement at Little Red Deer River between General Strange's column and Indians under Chief Big Bear, during the rebellion of the French Canadian Riel

1889



A LOST TROOPER OF THE N W MOUNTED POLICE "Isolated troopers of the Canadian Mounted Police, one of whose duties it is to suppress incipient revolts among the Indians, are sometimes lost while following a flat trail across the great desolate plains of Saskatchewan Their only remedy is to ride up to parties of Blackfeet or other Indians, and make the peace sign, which renders it obligatory to approach without moving arms, while the Indians sit down and say nothing They may conclude to avenge their grievance on the mounted policeman, and either kill him, tell him the wrong way, or ride off laughing at his discomfiture"



SIOUX IN BRITISH COLUMBIA "After the late Indian War, a number of the Sioux, headed by the famous chief, Sitting Bull, crossed over the British border Those Indians who had remained on American territory having in the meantime been pardoned, a U S Commission crossed the frontier to persuade the refugees to follow the example of their penitent countrymen The pow wow was held at Fort Walsh in British Columbia Sitting Bull delivered a speech expressive of the greatest animosity towards the Americans Other Indian speakers followed, and ended by shaking hands with the British officers, while they did not even say 'Good-bye' to the Americans It cannot be denied—indeed it is freely admitted by the Indians themselves—that the Red Indians have been far more skilfully managed by the British than by their Republican enemies"

1878

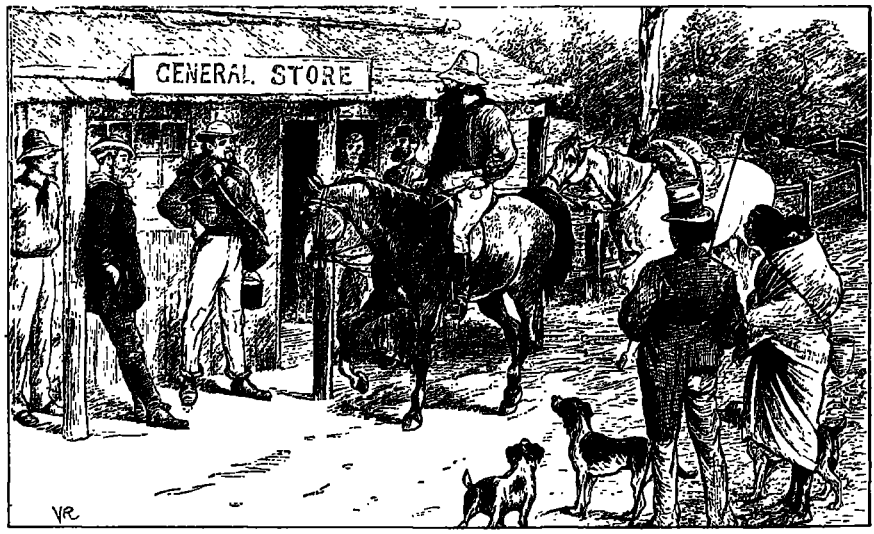
THE MAORIS, A PREMIER AND NINETY-ONE PIGS: "The meeting excited the greatest curiosity among the white population, as owing to the rapid decay of the Maori race, such a gathering to commemorate the last great native war will soon be quite impossible. The food consisted of 2,500 baskets of potatoes and taros, a large number of dried shark, and ninety-one pigs. A flag was placed in the centre of the pile of food, which was formally handed over by Sir George Grey, the Premier, who returned it to be distributed amongst the Maoris"

1872



GREAT BOURKE STREET, MELBOURNE, showing *inter alia* the proclamation of a reward for a Bushranger's capture, and the amusement caused by a visiting Englishman.

1878



THE HINTERLAND OF QUEENSLAND—A BUSH STORE: "As in all thinly peopled regions, the general store is a favourite gathering-ground at Tambo, in the 'Never Never' country. Here is to be seen the stock-rider on horseback, conversing with a man who carries his 'swag' on his back. Woollen socks, flannel shirts, moleskin pants, and jack boots are the usual costume. In the foreground appears an aboriginal and his lady, the former in 'European' dress"

1878



BUSH LIFE INSIDE A TAVERN "The Queensland Bush tavern is a terribly fascinating spot to the shepherd or stockmen who have led a solitary life for many months, drinking nothing stronger than tea The shepherd's wages are paid him by cheque, he tramps many weary miles to the nearest bush tavern, places the cheque in the proprietor's hands and often does not leave the establishment until every halfpenny of his earnings has disappeared This is called 'doing his pile,'"

1872



UP COUNTRY IN QUEENSLAND Showing the grandly named Great Eastern Hotel, the digger with his "swag," the mounted officer of police, and the coach with its American driver

1880



THE KLLLY BUSHRANGERS AT BAY "The notorious Kelly gang has been broken up after a pitched battle with a picked body of constables After several hours' brisk fighting the Hotel containing the Bushrangers was set on fire. The robbers had armour made out of ploughs, which for a time proved very effective. When one of the constables first saw Edward Kelly in armour, he thought a madman had come to the siege, while others declared it was the devil"

1883



ROUGH JUSTICE IN THE AUSTRALIAN BUSH · "As the nearest police-station is often from 50 to 200 miles from a squatter's headquarters, when a Bush thief is captured he is frequently treated to a taste of a stock-whip—a terrible weapon which can cut through an ox-hide"

1887



THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE: New South Wales Overlanders drinking the Queen's health in tea

1888



UP-COUNTRY RESIDENTS IN QUEENSLAND: A family party dressed in their best, starting with ample baggage on the long coach drive to Melbourne Centennial Exhibition

1890



IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN AUSTRALIA: "The Meeting in Melbourne, to settle terms on the subject of Australian Federation, represented seven Governments—Sir Henry Parkes and Mr. M'Millan (New South Wales), Messrs. Gillies and Deakin (Victoria), Mr. Playford and Dr. Cockburn (South Australia), Sir Samuel Griffith and Mr. Macrossan (Queensland), Captain Russell and Sir John Hall (New Zealand), Messrs. A. Inglis Clark and Mr. B. S. Bird (Tasmania) and Sir John Lee Steere (for Western Australia). New Zealand, with her exceptional distance of 1,200 miles from the island continent, was to be called upon to contribute to the Navy only"

1894



NEW ZEALAND INTRODUCES WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: "Female suffrage has made much greater headway in New Zealand than at home. Not only did the women exercise their new right at the recent general elections, but a member of the fair sex has been elected Mayor of Onehunga. The women at the Borough Council Chambers exhibited unmistakable signs of triumph during the morning's Poll, for in working hours they were in possession of the whole field"

1884



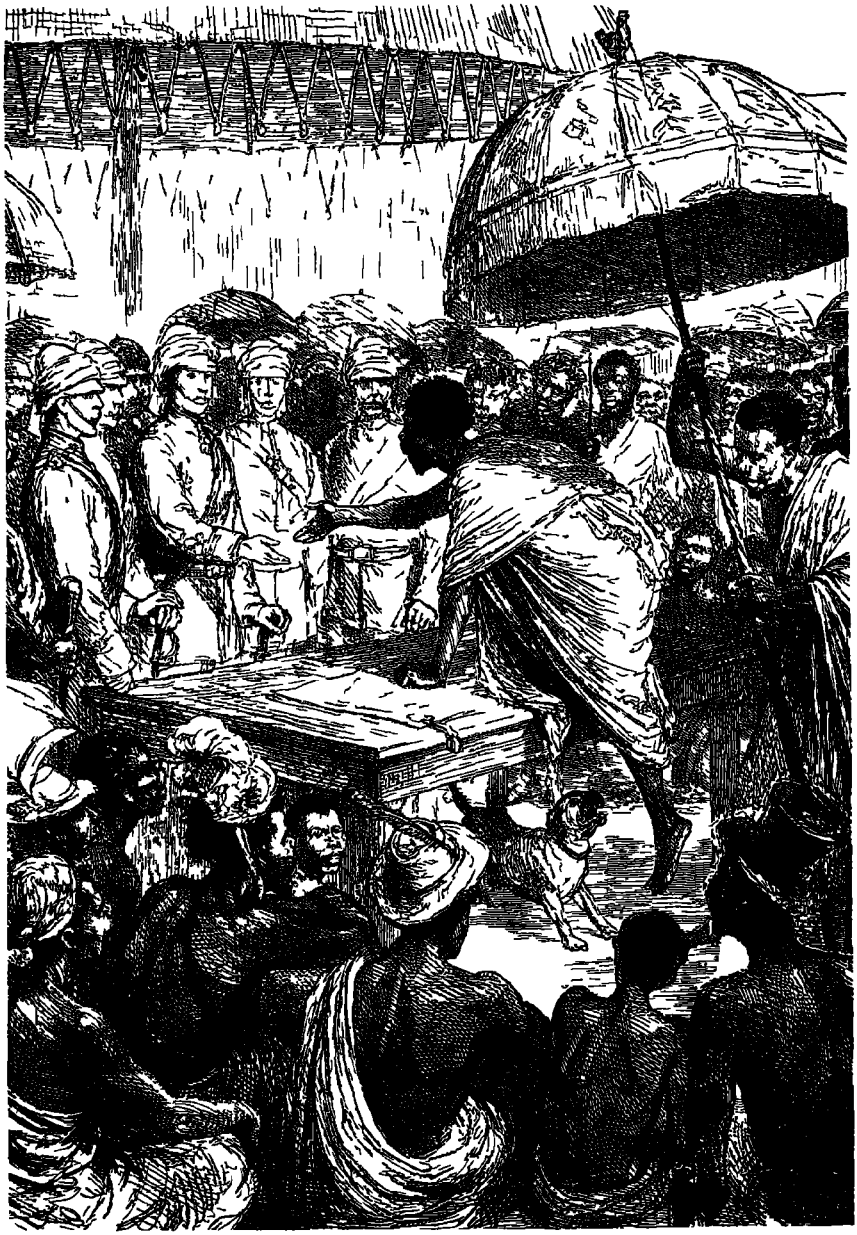
FAREWELL TO GORDON "General 'Chinese' Gordon departing on his mission to the Sudan, with the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Wolseley and Colonel Stewart wishing him God speed on the platform at Charing Cross"

1885

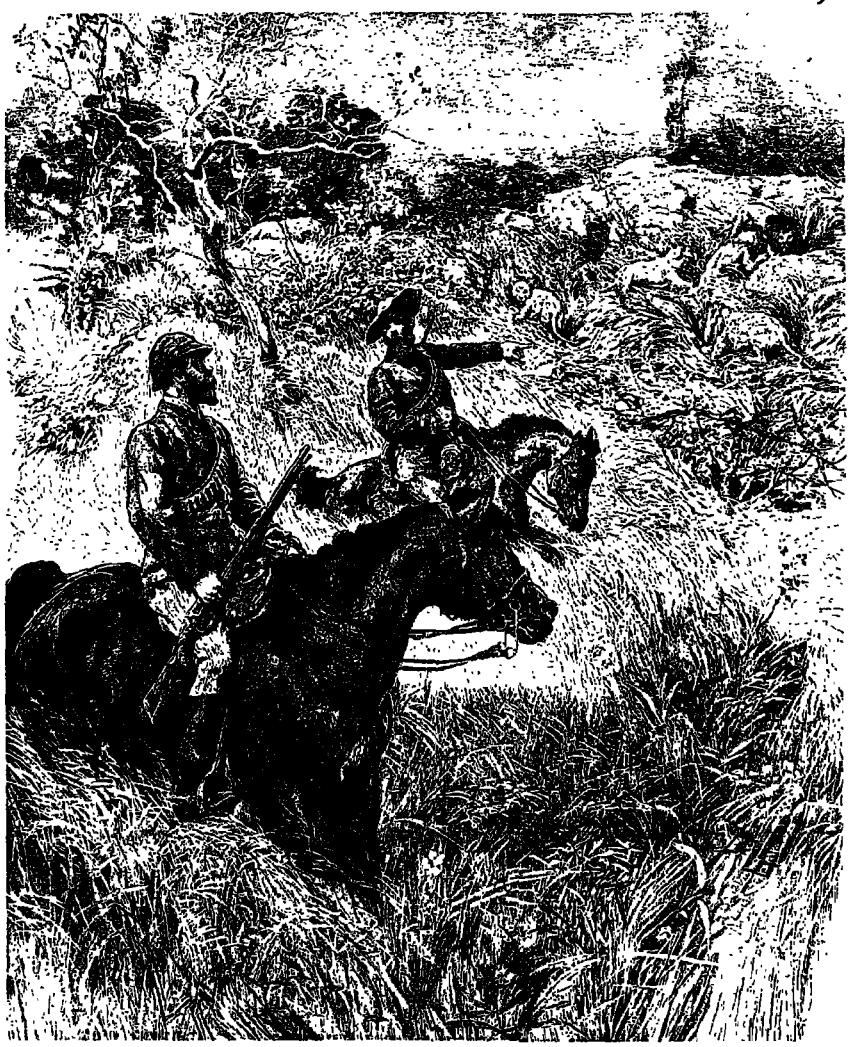


GORDON'S HEAD BROUGHT TO SLATIN PASHA "On January 26th I was sitting chained to the ground in front of my tent when I saw a great crowd coming towards me "In front marched three black soldiers one named Shatta carried a cloth in which something was wrapped up He undid the cloth and showed me the head of General Gordon!"

1873



ASHANTI—KING ATTAH OF AKIM GREETS HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER
"King Attah met Captain Glover after sending 'a message of love' He became so excited after swearing 'The Big Oath' that he jumped on the table, and insisted on shaking hands with the Commissioner and staff Captain Glover's dog grew excited, and snapped at the royal ankles'



LORD RANDOLPH AND A FEW SOUTH AFRICAN LIONS: "We were riding through a small glade when Lee suddenly turned round, cried out and pointed with his finger ahead. I saw to my astonishment that the glade appeared to be alive with lions, trooping and trotting along like enormous dogs—great yellow objects, moving in the most composed and leisurely fashion. Lee said, 'What will you do?' I said, 'I suppose we must go after them' . . . Lee dismounted and fired at a lion about 50 yards off, and I saw the brute fall on his head, twist round and stagger into a patch of high grass. I counted a batch of seven lions. Lee says there were more. We approached the spruit, and almost literally under my nose, I saw three lions tumble up out of it, climb the opposite side and disappear. Lee fired from his horse at one as it was climbing the bank and wounded it badly, and it retreated, uttering sounds between a growl, a grunt, and a sob. The lions had now got some hundreds of yards ahead of us, and disappeared in the thick grass" (from Lord Randolph Churchill's account of his South African journey in the *Graphic*)

1887



COCKNEY LIZZIE'S BILLIARD-SALOON: "A popular resort among the Barberton gold-diggers. Besides billiard and card tables, a piano is constantly in action, while Cockney Liz, in a jockey cap and a crimson dress, serves liquor and jokes with her many admirers."

1887



A "BULL DANCE" IN BARBERTON: "Almost every second house in Barberton is a canteen or billiard-saloon and drinking is very frequent. The few ladies who live there are hidden away from the public gaze, and so, if the South African gold-diggers want to dance, it is necessarily a 'bull dance' which sometimes finishes up with a free fight"

1870

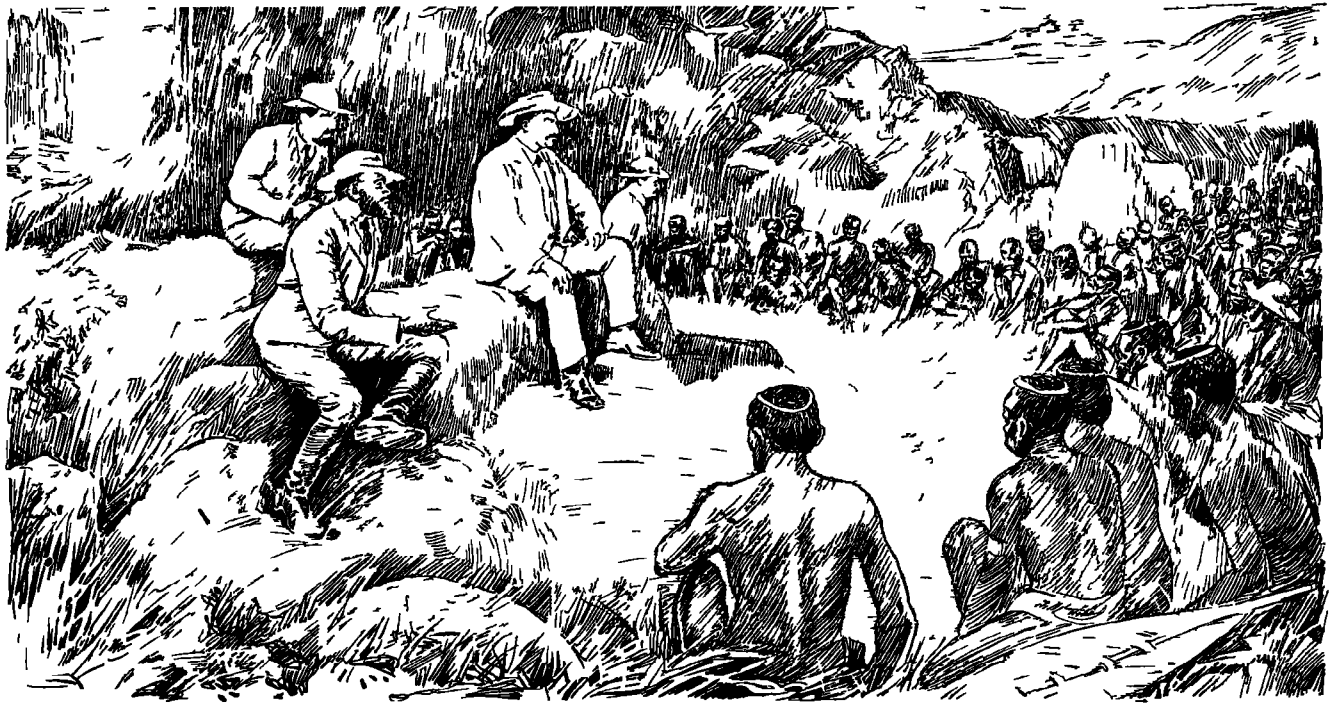


WASHING FOR DIAMONDS AT THE CAPE: "Since the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal River equal in quality to those of Golconda and Brazil, glittering prizes can be obtained by any man who does not mind hard work. The cradles are going all day, sometimes all night too. The diggers even amuse themselves by looking for diamonds on the tent floor while lying in bed"

1899

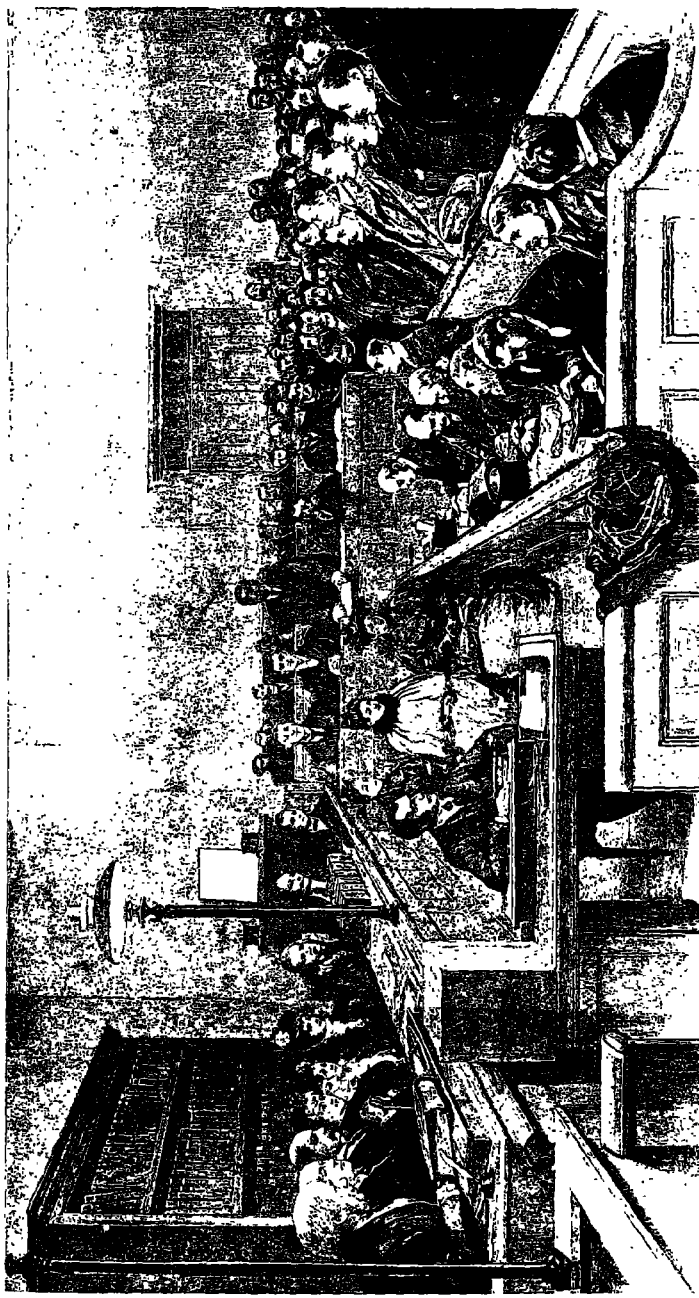


"PRESIDENT KRUGER RECEIVES VISITORS: This anachronistic phenomenon throws out clouds of strong tobacco smoke, and still stronger language. Boers coming to Pretoria make it a point to see him. They are treated to coffee, which costs their Government £300 a year"

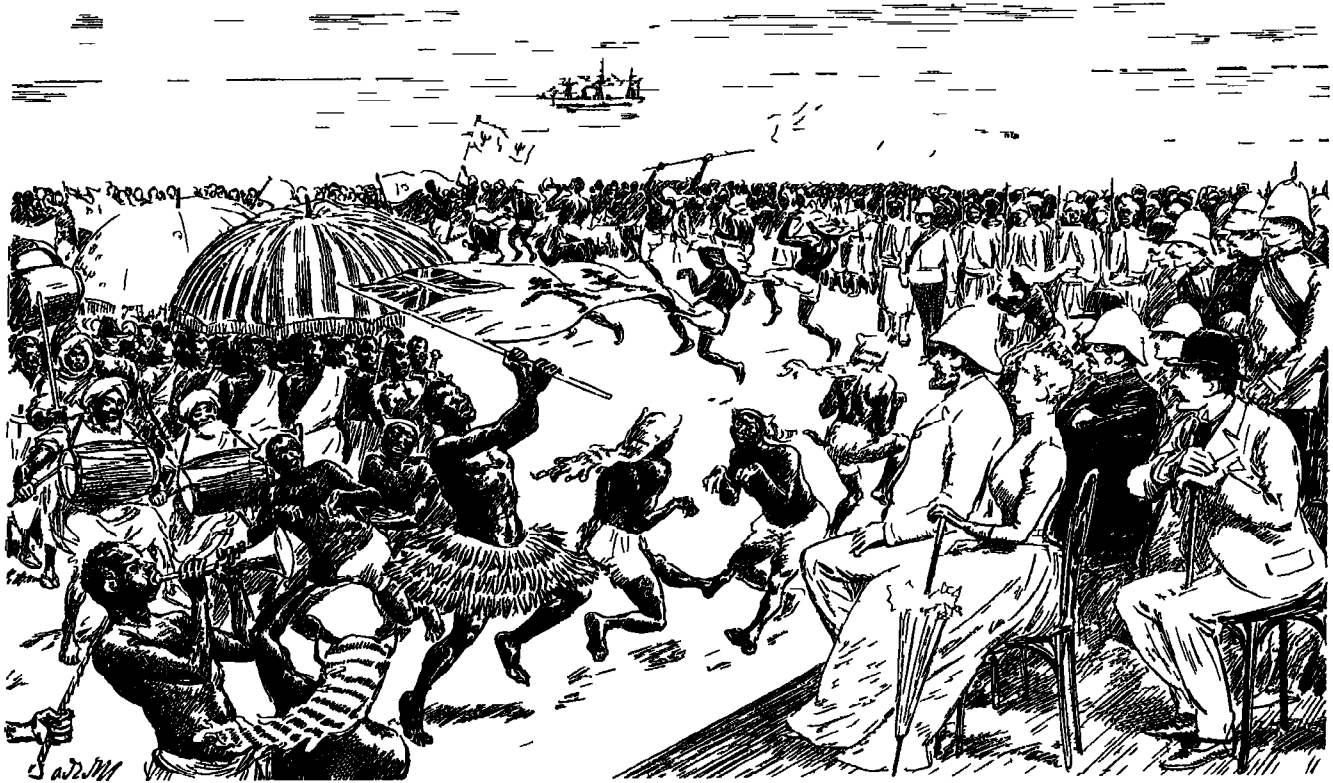


THE GREAT INDABA IN THE RHODESIAN HILLS Mr Steen, Mr Colenbrander, Mr Cecil Rhodes, and Dr Sauer, unprotected by armed forces, face the chiefs of the revolted Matabele "The Matabele had been driven by degrees into the fastnesses of the Matoppos One day a native arrived in the camp of the whites, stating that the princes and chiefs of the Matabele impis wished to see Mr Colenbrander, whom they trusted They dared not ask so great a man as Mr Rhodes to come, but he would be welcome Mr Rhodes at once decided to go entirely unarmed Several chiefs made complaint of their treatment at the hands of native police They also prayed for the banishment of a certain prominent government official, and said that if Mr Rhodes would care for them they would not fight any more. He promised that the native police should be abolished, and said that the official complained of was no longer in the British South Africa Company's Service, whereupon the chiefs signified their willingness to disarm" Rhodes's courage in going unarmed among the Matabele resulted in lasting peace

1896



THE PENALTY OF NON-SUCCESS—"DR. JIM" AT BOW STREET: Dr. Jameson and his officers, charged with "unlawfully fitting out a military expedition against a friendly State, to wit the South African Republic." After the Jameson Raid, during the Uitlander agitation (when Dr. Jim, with 800 men attempted to invade the Transvaal), the leaders were handed over to the British Government

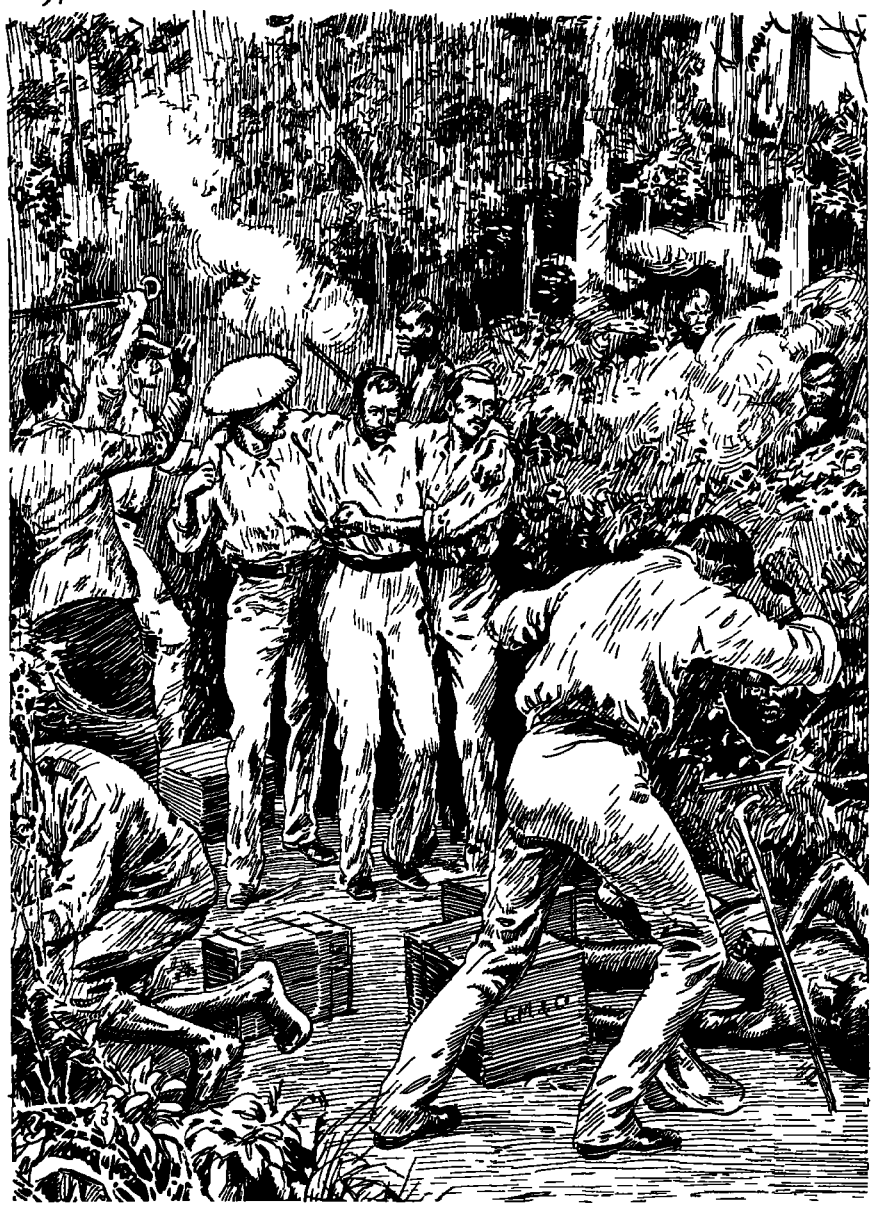


RECEPTION OF A PROCONSUL "When Sir Baldwin Griffith, K C M G , Governor of the Gold Coast, landed at Cape Coast Castle, he was frantically welcomed by all the chieftains and thousands of natives (Fantis, Haussas, &c) The noise of the tom toms, trumpets, war drums, fog horns, rattles and yells was deafening, and many of the blacks did wild and grotesque dances The Chiefs held out to the Governor, who, with his staff, watched the proceedings with interest and some amusement, flags covered with strange devices, as a token of their loyalty"



KING PREMPEH'S HUMILIATION: "One of the Governor's demands made after the Ashanti rebellion was that King Prempeh should make abject submission in accordance with native custom. The King removed his crown and sandals, came forward with the Queen Mother to perform the act of humiliation, and reached the platform on which were seated Sir Francis Scott, Colonel Kempster, and Mr. Maxwell. They knelt and embraced the Englishmen's legs and booted feet, while the Ashantis looked on with astonishment at their King's abasement"

1897



THE BENIN MASSACRE "King hunting in the African bush is not the most pleasant sport, as the little British column under Colonel Hamilton who are chasing the Will o'-the-Wisp-like King of Benin have found. The pictures show Mr. Locke and another member of the British Mission attempting to assist Major Crawford after he had been shot in the leg during the ambuscade of the mission by Benin soldiers While they were carrying him he was shot again and killed. The only members of the party to escape were Mr. Locke and Captain Boisragon"

1889



MURDER IN NORTHERN INDIA "Members of the punitive expedition against the Lushai Hill tribes have found the gun of the late Lieut Stewart in the grave of the Chief Howsata It had been reported from other villages that if Howsata himself had murdered Lieut Stewart, the gun would be in the Chief's grave When this was opened Howsata's embalmed body was found lying with the gun beside it, underneath a bottle of rice beer, much food and some sugar cane"

1878



INDIA'S LIGHTER SIDE "Going to a State dinner given by the Rajah of Cochin, near Madras"

1877



THE RETURN OF THE PRINCE OF WALES FROM INDIA "A Levee of Pets collected during the journey was held before the Princess of Wales and her children on board the *Serapis*"

1888

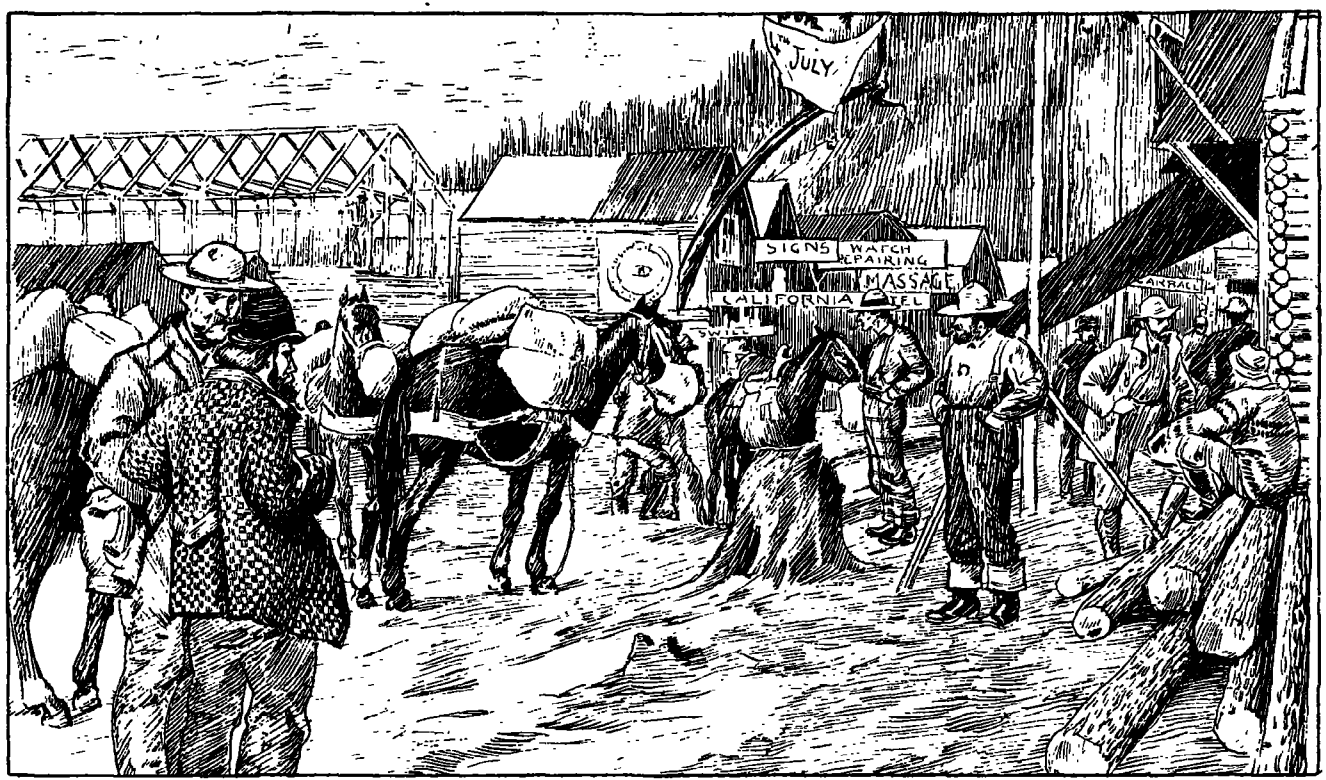


A DEPUTY COMMISSIONER RECEIVES THE SAMBWA OF KALE: "Major Raikes, Deputy Commissioner of the Chindwin paying his recent visit to the Royal Tsambwa of Kale, to whom he promised support against the rebel Chins who had captured his capital"

1889



AN AUCTION OF LOOT IN MANDALAY AFTER THE BURMESE EXPEDITION



TO KLONDYKE BY THE ALL-CANADIAN ROUTE: "Hundreds of prospectors are making their way to the new gold diggings, many of them by the All-Canadian route. Our picture shows the business portion of Dawson City, by courtesy termed a 'street.' On one side of the rootlittered miry space are some pretentious-looking buildings, most of them dedicated to the sale of spirits to the pioneers of civilisation, who stand about in every variety of rough clothing, all, of course, with their hands in their trousers pockets. The fourth of July was recently celebrated by the consumption of considerable quantities of stray liquor and the indiscriminate firing of revolvers"



A MISSIONARY TAKES A SPIN ROUND THE VILLAGE "Having my bicycle with me, I began to ride round a Bangwa village, and I shall not easily forget the yelling savages running after me in wild excitement, shouting 'The white man on a snake!'"
(From Mr Albert Lloyd's Diary)

1870



A VISITING PARTY OF M P's CROSSING THE PITCH LAKES IN TRINIDAD "As a great number of the channels between the deposits of pitch were wide, and the heat of the sun on the surface was very great, most of our party divested themselves of all superfluous attire and looked like so many lunatics as they went flying over the crevasses in their shirts"

1896



DUTIES OF SOME HEAVY DRAGOONS "Our sketch, from an officer serving against Dinizulu, shows troopers of the 6th Dragoons carrying across the Black Umvoloosi river negro babies left behind when the rebels escaped down the river, after the relief of N'Dwandwe"

1897



THE BISHOP OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN CROSSES A RIVER: "'With our arms embracing the necks of the two front men, our legs held behind by two others, and with two more aiding as supports for fear we should break in two in the middle, we were carried shoulder high across deep places as though we had been wooden logs,' writes a fellow missionary of the Bishop's"

1890



A BISHOP SWIMS ACROSS: "His Lordship the Bishop of Cape Colony, having ridden five hundred miles to hold a Confirmation Service in the Transkei District, found his way barred by a river swollen by storm and flood. He removed his clothes, swam across and stayed in the reeds with hair and beard dripping, while his ally the doctor swam with the episcopal garments"

1889



"THE QUEEN—GOD BLESS HER" AT SIERRA LEONE "There is probably no anniversary so widely celebrated throughout the Globe as May 24th, the birthday of Queen Victoria On that day in all our garrisons, Embassies Consulates and other Government head-quarters, festive gatherings prove that loyalty to the Throne remains deeply planted in the expatriated Britisher Above are officers of the West Indian regiment drinking with royal honours"

1889



A LADY PHOTOGRAPHER IN THE FAR WEST 'Lady Stanley, wife of the Governor General, fixing photographs of a war dance by Blackfeet Indians on Pocklington s Reserve

"FIGHTS FOR THE FLAG"

RIBBONED recruiting sergeants, hard-headed in drink and persuasion, drew men from the street corner into queer nets between 1870 and 1900. England stayed at peace in Europe, and had done so since the Crimean War; so that, as one historian wrote, "there was not a little excitement over the Franco-Prussian war, for many people were of the opinion that the glory of England might suffer if she did not get into a fight with some Power or other." In contrast to this peace at headquarters, contingents all overseas fought hundreds of engagements.

The army was seldom out of the public mind and prints. War artists served it well, and were kept busy in most years, sketching soldiers in squares, echelons, charging squadrons and smoke-screened batteries; attacking or repelling Indians, Zulus, Afghans, Dervishes, Ashantis, Dacoits, Matabeles and others with brown or black pigmentation. Sometimes there was jungle for a background, sometimes jungle and barely fordable river, sometimes tree and rock, sometimes just rocky hillside, upon which dark warriors were shown skipping like the Psalmist's rams.

"There is no military training in England," wrote an obtuse Prussian general. "The Englishman just fights when he is out-numbered, but the enemy must have obsolete weapons against arms of precision." English forces were outnumbered because a small standing army was used for mobile action on a dozen possible fronts; and each danger-spot needed a margin of safety in garrison. But the value of precise arms against obsolete weapons was not everything in lands without roads or railways, where lines of improvised communication followed each hazardously scouted mile. Neither were the Snider rifle and the Gatling machine-gun precise. Two further assets were needed in the many wars against larger armies of savages and semi-savages—quick-minded generalship and a disciplined bravery that could equal the tribesman's fanatical recklessness. The bravery was there invariably, the generalship not always.

In an age that demanded and therefore obtained the heroic, four English generals became public heroes—Wolseley, Gordon, Roberts and Kitchener. Herbert Stewart, Gerald Graham, Evelyn Wood, Redvers Buller and a few more qualified for lesser pedestals. In terms of military talent the greatest was Wolseley. Each campaign meant a new technique in the fighting of battles by small forces with up-to-date arms against much larger forces with obsolete weapons, and a new adaptation of transport to lands without rail or modern road. Sir Garnet alone seemed to divine all requirements. Through fifteen years he was unfailing, ubiquitous, all but indispensable.

Wolseley's first command in the field was in Canada, where he crushed the River rising of 1870, under the half-breed Riel. His second came three years later in

Africa, when he led the expedition against King Koffee Calcalli of Ashanti, who had bullied the "protected" tribe of Fantis. His army fought its way through swamps and forests, deposed King Koffee, destroyed his capital, abolished human sacrifice and returned when winter was over with few lives lost except by fever.

The next imperial campaign was over old battlegrounds in Afghanistan. The murder of the British mission in 1879, a year after General Sir Sam Browne's demonstration against the Ameer Shere Ali, brought General Roberts back from India. His position in Kabul after he had fought through a horde of Ghilzais, was dangerous until General Sir Donald Stewart reinforced him. General Burrows then launched his reckless attack from Kandahar, with only a brigade plus six 9-pounders and a few smooth-bore guns, against 15,000 tribesmen under Ayub Khan, anti-British pretender to the throne. Burrows' detachment, badly cut up at Maiwand, staggered back, its remnants saved by desperate gallantry from the Horse Artillery, who limbered up in the face of Ghilzai charges and fought with handspikes, whips and by any improvised weapons that were handy, to keep their guns for further work in covering the retreat. Kandahar, invested by exultant hordes growing daily larger through Ayub Khan's prestige from his victory over the infidel, seemed lost. England and India turned toward Kabul, fearing a worse disaster there. Word trickled down to the frontier that a complete army of 10,000 under Roberts had vanished. Twenty-two days passed in silence. Roberts and the 10,000 appeared suddenly before Kandahar, relieved it, and thoroughly trounced Ayub's army. Before this force marched through three hundred miles of appallingly difficult country, Roberts had been officially rapped over the knuckles for dispersing to Kabul, and Stewart gave him the chance to redeem himself by the march to Kandahar. After this superbly-timed movement, with its mystery that fastened on imagination at home, Roberts was promoted, made a baronet, and framed in public regard next to Sir Garnet.

Sir Garnet, in the meantime, was misused by luck and the time factor. It is certain that had he, instead of Lord Chelmsford, organised the invasion of Zululand in 1879, instead of being sent to take command at the end of a shattering campaign, the numbers and fighting qualities of the Zulus would not have been so badly underestimated. The defence of Rorke's Drift against 4,000 Zulus by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, with 80 men of the 24th Foot behind ramparts of biscuit tins and mealie bags, was stubborn and heroic. So, despite the failure to "laager" their waggons, was the defence by Colonel Durnford's column of fewer than 1,000 English against Impis 20,000 strong, one fourth of whom they knocked out before being annihilated at Isandhlana. But the facts that Chelmsford was on the defensive through months, and never came within sight of a victory such as Ulundi until his forces had been raised from 5,000 to 10,000 proved miscalculation. The Zulus were not only 50,000 strong; they had trained themselves to fight in formations borrowed from English troops at the Cape; and their King Cetewayo was a cruel, tireless fighter.

Wolseley, arriving after Ulundi, directed the rounding-up and capture of Cetewayo, completed the Zulu subjugation, and came home in 1880. His return at that

moment was another freak of the timetable and the sailing lists, for a Boer War broke out later in that year. The course of vast issues in South Africa might have been changed had he, instead of Sir George Colley, planned and commanded the force—an absurdly small one of 1,000 men—that entered the Transvaal—when the Boers rose in arms to win independence. Colley, like everybody else concerned, undervalued the strength, tactics and fighting qualities of the Boer farmers. As a result, he was repulsed at Laing's Nek and again on the Ingogo River, losing during the two engagements a third of his troops in killed and wounded. He marched back again to recover Laing's Nek, and occupied Majuba Hill, which commanded the Boer camp. Four hundred tired men climbed for eight hours in the darkness to reach the top of a kopje. The Boers did not know that the height was occupied; in the morning the murmur of their slow Sabbath prayer climbed to the British. No trenches were dug, no defence-works were built. Complete reliance was placed on the tremendous strength of Majuba. But the enemy force, being much larger than was believed, and knowing every slope and hollow of the ground, climbed the hill behind casual cover and surrounded and all but annihilated the few British. Colley himself was killed, leaving in his tent a letter to his wife: "In case I should not return, to tell you how very dearly I love you. . . . Don't let all life be dark if I don't come back."

The Navy, followed by Sir Garnet again, soon removed the taste of defeat from British prestige in arms. Arabi Pasha's plots against Turkey and the Khedive, and his alliance with Egyptian Nationalists, brought Admiral Seymour's fleet to Alexandria in support of British interests. The gunners in the Egyptian forts were hopelessly bad; so bad that the British Fleet, unable to reduce them with muzzle-loading guns firing under steam, was able to anchor in the harbour with impunity, while bombarding the Egyptians into silence. Charles Beresford and other gunboat commanders had their chance to show bravery close to the shore; and the Admiral's signal, "Well done Condor!" became a popular slogan for pride in the Navy. Mr. Gladstone did not empower the War Office to land military forces until three months later, when Arabi controlled most of Egypt. Sir Garnet then entered in style, commanding 40,000 troops (most of them dressed incidentally in scarlet serge Norfolk jackets). The Egyptians were first dislodged from Tel-el-Mahuta. General Graham, attacked by a large force when marching ahead with 2,000 men, to ensure the water supply, used the heliograph—a new invention—to summon the Household Cavalry Brigade, and beat off the enemy with a spectacular charge that delighted the public and the war artists. Sir Garnet ended the campaign with his brilliantly planned defeat of the Egyptian army at Tel-el-Kebir, where Arabi's strong position had four miles of earthworks in front with redoubts at intervals, and defences almost as exceptional on the flanks. Wolseley so disposed of his forces that the Egyptians could not guess, among their complicated forts, whence the main attack would come. Thirty minutes of sharp attack, for a total British loss of 54 killed and 320 wounded, was enough to take Tel-el-Kebir and utterly rout the enemy. Wolseley's cavalry pursued a beaten army over fifty miles in one day to Cairo, and bluffed the city into surrender.

Sir Garnet's last and hardest campaign had as prelude a series of Egyptian disasters, beginning with the Soudanese Mahdi's destruction of an army of 11,000 under Hicks Pasha Egyptian expeditions to the relief of garrisons at Sinkat and Tokar were cut to pieces. A third relief force, chiefly composed of half-trained youths under Baker Pasha, turned and fled at sight of the Mahdi's fierce fanatics. Both strongholds fell, with much throat-slitting of the garrisons. And when, in 1884, Gordon entered Khartoum as Governor-General of the Soudan, with an indefinite mission to direct evacuation or conquest, he might have been invested at once but for two victories under General Graham at El-Teb and Tamai. Since Graham's 4,000 British troops were largely young recruits, he manœuvred them into fighting squares with Gatling guns at the corners, so as to have a maximum of compactness for meeting the wild charges of the newly nicknamed "Fuzzies." Highly picturesque accounts and sketches of these tactics gave England an unwarranted confidence Not knowing the odds against Gordon (since he himself was vague in his messages and seemed confident of coping with any attack), the nation regarded the Soudan as an arena for contest between him and the Mahdi—civilisation against slave-dealing savagery. The Soudanese gradually closed in on Khartoum, growing in number by tens of thousands as opposition faded. The British press woke up, a third of the way through a siege that lasted 317 days, to realize the peril of Gordon. Mr. Gladstone did not wake up from his Irish pre-occupations until half-way through it; and it was late in the summer before Wolseley could plan a campaign for the relieving of Khartoum.

His expedition, including most of "the Wolseley gang" (generals and staff officers whom he had trained in earlier campaigns) left Cairo in October. At that time a Major Kitchener was at Dongola, trying to establish communication with Gordon. Fighting flies, savage heat, a dilatory supply service from home, 1,000 miles of lines of communication, and the Mahdi, Wolseley pressed on, but could not be ready until December to move across the desert from Korti. On the day when Sir Herbert Stewart set out from Khartoum with an advance column, two Arabs brought a message, on paper the size of a postage stamp: "Khartoum all right. 14.12.84. C. G. Gordon." The written confidence, however, was in case the messengers should be captured; their verbal information told of Khartoum's desperate need. Stewart fought at Abu Klea, where his troops reformed after their square had been broken, and killed 1,100 Dervishes before they retired. He was fatally wounded on the day after the battle, and it was under Sir Charles Wilson that the column reached the Nile at Gubat on January 21. There it found Gordon's river steamers, and another small scrap of paper: "Khartoum is all right. Could hold out for years. C. G. Gordon. 29 12 84." Wilson decided to use the steamers for a quick advance, but gave three days to reconnaissance The flotilla did not start until January 24 The journey took four days, and during it—on the 26th—the end came. Gordon, using his sword to the last, died on the Residency steps, with the steamers no near. On January 28th a man shouted from the bank to Wilson's flotilla that Khartoum was fallen; and when it sighted the city next day, the flag had gone England did not congratulate Mr. Gladstone, but recog-



RECRUITING FOR THE ARMY "The clearing away of a number of small houses necessitated by the opening up of Charing Cross Road revealed to many people the existence of St George's Barracks, Trafalgar Square Outside grizzled and stalwart recruiting sergeants may be seen at all hours ready to enlist the promising recruit, or to explain the advantages of Her Majesty's Service'



THE CHARGE OF THE 17TH LANCERS AT ULUNDI: "The story of the battle of Ulundi is one of fearless persistency, by the hordes of Zulu warriors, who dashed forward again and again to break through the immovable ranks of our soldiers, until sudden panic drove them into headlong flight. The Lancers then galloped out as they turned, and mowed them down with lance and fire-arms upon the hill-sides"

nised that the relieving army could not have done more. Wolseley, at the end of a great campaign under heart-breaking difficulties, scattered further Soudanese hordes, but was ordered home when it was decided to establish a frontier between Egypt and the Soudan through Wady Halfa.

Before this desert war ended, a river and jungle one broke out in Upper Burmah. To punish King Theebaw of Ava for discriminating against the British in trade concessions (there was also the Gladstonian motive of putting down cruelty and barbarous practices) a British and Indian Army under General Prendergast steamed up the Irrawaddy River, and landed detachments that overcame without much trouble a weak, formless resistance from the Burmese, but suffered dreadfully from malaria fever in a climate worse than that of the African West coast. Upper Burmah was annexed; though this was but the beginning of a scattered campaign which, through five years, came to be known as "the Subaltern's War."

In 1887, more fights against Zulu tribes; 1893, the Matabeles and "Wilson's Last Stand"; 1895, another and permanent suppression of the Ashantis; 1896, a naval bombardment of Zanzibar to give its Sultan warning of British power; 1897, a short forest campaign in Central Africa, when Benin was forcibly given British protection after its kinglet had murdered a British mission, and in '96, '97, and '98, the final and emphatic conquest of the Soudan by that Major Kitchener—now Sir Herbert Kitchener, Egyptian Sirdar—who had tried to establish contact with Gordon from Dongola.

It was a Soudanese campaign different from that of Wolseley (who by now had succeeded the old Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief at the War Office). Many of the Dervishes—the nickname "Fuzzies" was obsolete—under the Khalifa had acquired old-fashioned rifles from gun-runners, and were marksmen from intensive practice. But Kitchener had new Lee-Metfords and newer Lee-Enfields, besides Maxim machine-guns and quick firing field-guns. His British troops were in new-fangled khaki, which showed up in the desert much less than the old reds and blues. Above all else, he had plenty of time to organise, whereas Wolseley had been given only five months for improvisation. He made a point of "blooding" his troops, particularly the Egyptian regiments, immediately after the advance from Wady Halfa. Converging by night in two columns upon Firket, he quickly defeated a Dervish force, and so heartened his army for a heat-wracked summer campaign full of storms and cholera. Dongola was occupied, after which he passed nearly a year in skirmish and preparation, while railway construction from Wady Halfa pushed onward. He then fought a way into Abu Hamed, and killed or captured every Soudanese defending it. Twelve thousand Dervishes under the Emir Mahmoud came against him from Khartoum. Kitchener attacked on the Atbara; and within forty minutes 2,000 Dervishes were killed, the rest scattered, and Mahmoud was a prisoner.

Kitchener awaited reinforcements before tackling the Khalifa's army on the latter's chosen ground before Omdurman. The Dervish casualties in this quick battle, for which the British had prepared through a whole year, were 11,000 killed and 16,000 wounded, more than the complete Anglo-Egyptian strength of 26,000,

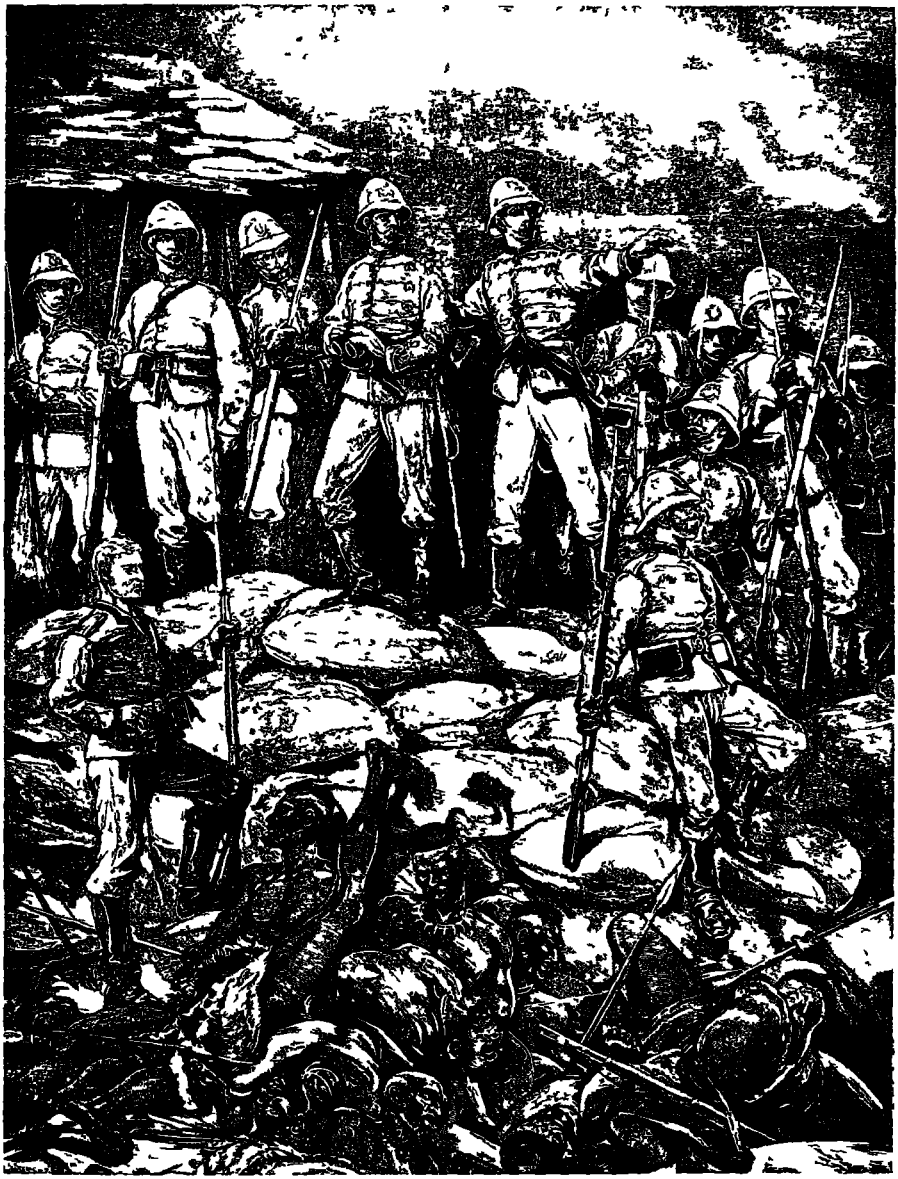
of whom only 46 were killed and 341 wounded. Two days later the flag was hoisted above Khartoum, on the building where Gordon had died. The Khalifa wandered for months in the Soudan, and after a last defence against Wingate's column, was found dead on a prayer mat, with all his Emirs around him. Sentiment for Gordon combined with descriptions of Kitchener of Khartoum's relentless efficiency, exact organisation, and care of the army's health, to build up in the public mind a new species of military hero.

The century passed with military exaltation exploded by news of early disasters in the Boer War, most of which belongs to the nineteen hundreds. The statement that British Governments always prepare for the previous war was underlined by the British defeats of Black December in 1899. Sir Redvers Buller had created the Army Service Corps for a coming war, but the fighting forces given him were pitifully insufficient. The well-armed Boers were neither Dervishes nor Dacoits; it even seemed forgotten that Majuba Hill had proved them not to be Zulus. They could ride, plan, fight with forethought from trenches, invent new forms of defence in valleys and of attack on hillsides, improvise new methods of transporting heavy guns. Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso taught that. So, in the last week of the century, Roberts of Kandahar and Kitchener of Khartoum sailed with reinforcements greater than General Buller's total force, to direct the victories of 1901. And the military text-books were re-edited with maxims that served the 1914 Expeditionary Force well, and survived until the slaughter of half a male generation between 1915 and 1918 made them obsolete.

One hundred and ten faraway wars and frontier engagements were fought by British troops between 1870 and 1900. The army had changed much in personnel and greatly in armament. The purchase of army commissions passed; and highly-placed officers had been enabled to rise from the ranks, after the short-service system had introduced a younger and less hard-drinking type of private soldier. The old, erratic Snider had gone and the better Martini-Henry rifle (which nevertheless would not stop a determined tribesman unless its bullets were split), had been replaced in its turn by the precise magazine rifle. In place of the muzzle-loading ordnance used before the 'nineties, field-guns and heavy guns had developed out of recognition in range, calibre, breech-loading dependability and quickness of fire. The Gatling and Nordenfeld machine-guns had been followed by the Maxim automatic, which utilised recoil to fire 300 rounds a minute—a weapon concerning which Stanley gave the opinion to Sir Hiram that it "would be of valuable service in helping civilisation to overcome barbarism."

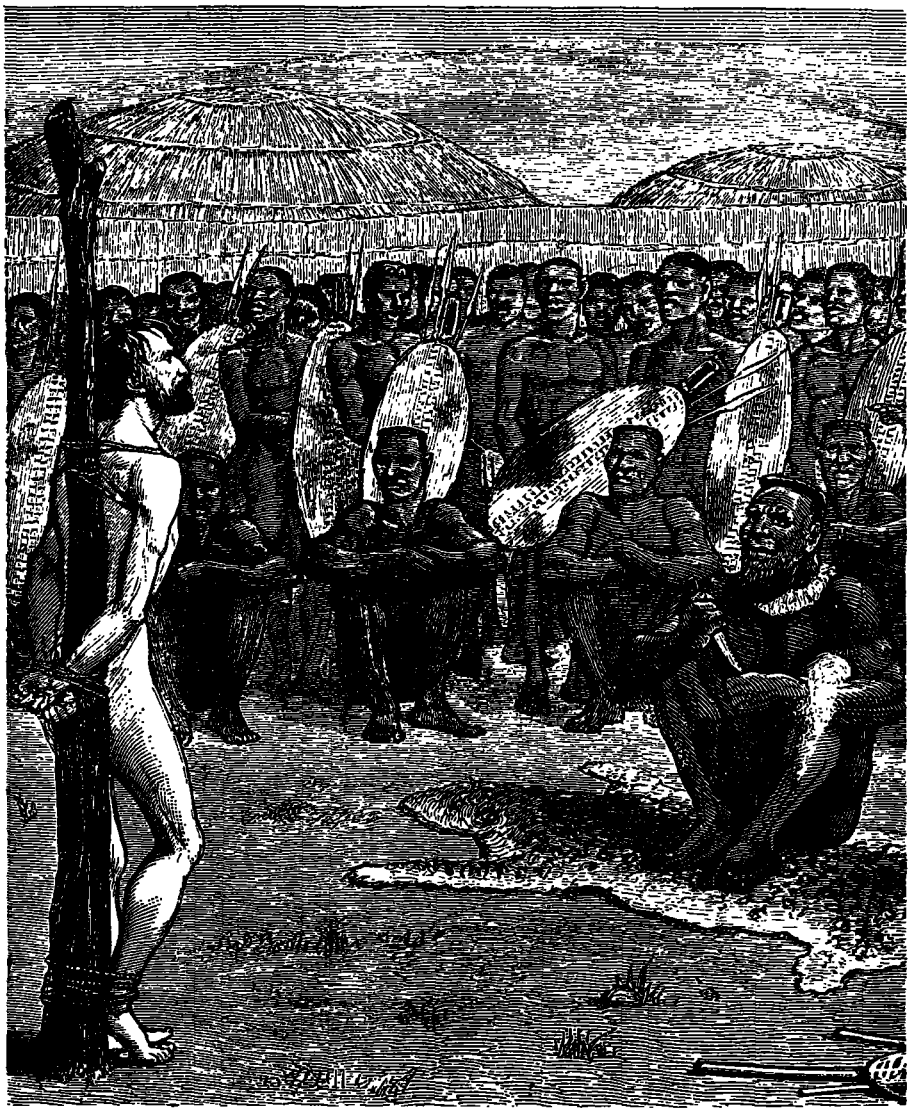
"Whatever happens, we have got
The Maxim Gun, and they have not."

And the pictures remain of bearded or much-moustached soldiers in stiffish attitudes, fighting their hundreds of engagements, well-managed or mismanaged, against the heathen for Empire, Christian principles and the financial sections of the City of London; quaint, brave figures who, instead of hating the Dervish for wanting to castrate them, praised him as a first-class fighting man.



ZULULAND THE DEFENCE OF RORKE'S DRIFT. "Daybreak on the morning following the Defence of Rorke's Drift by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, during which 80 men, 10 of them supposedly sick in hospital, beat off and defeated 3,000 Zulus flushed with recent victory. Hurried entrenchments were made with biscuit boxes and sacks of mealies, and behind these the defenders drove off repeated attacks. Between three and five o'clock the Zulus burned the hospital, charged right up to the walls and attempted to unscrew the bayonets which met them. The Zulu losses were 350 killed and 250 wounded, as against 13 British killed and 9 wounded"

1879



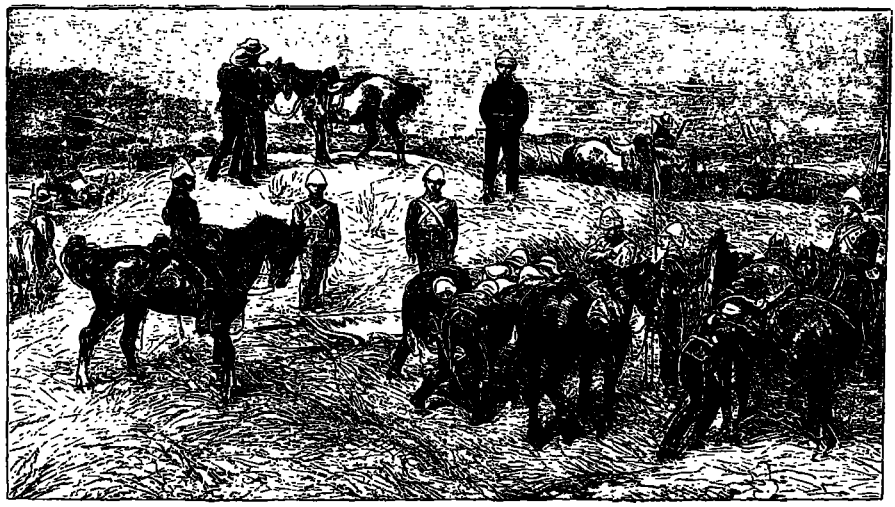
ERNEST GRANDIER BROUGHT BEFORE CETEWAYO : " One of the strangest incidents of the Zulu War was the adventure of Ernest Grandier, a native of Bordeaux enlisted in the Irregular Cavalry. Captured after the battle at the Zlobane Hill, he was lashed to a pole, without clothes and exposed to a burning sun by day and to biting cold by night. In the mornings the Zulus beat him with their sticks to restore circulation. Taken seventy miles to Cetewayo's kraal, he was brought naked before the King, while the women jeered and spat upon him. Cetewayo, seated on his leopard skin, told him that he would be sent back to Umbelini, who would cut him up, bit by bit, until he died. During the journey to Umbelini, Grandier killed one of his two guards with an assegai, carried off the gun of the other and hid in a hole while an army of 15,000 Zulus passed by. Still nude, he reached safety after a terrible journey of fifty hours."

1879



THE PRINCE IMPERIAL LEAVES FOR THE ZULU WAR: "Should the whirligig of time give the Empire another chance in France, Prince Louis' prospects will be improved by the fact that he has insisted on undergoing the privations and dangers of the British Campaign against the Zulus. The Empress Eugene carried a bunch of violets as she accompanied her son on the troop ship at Southampton, and pressed the posy upon him before kissing him good-bye"

1879



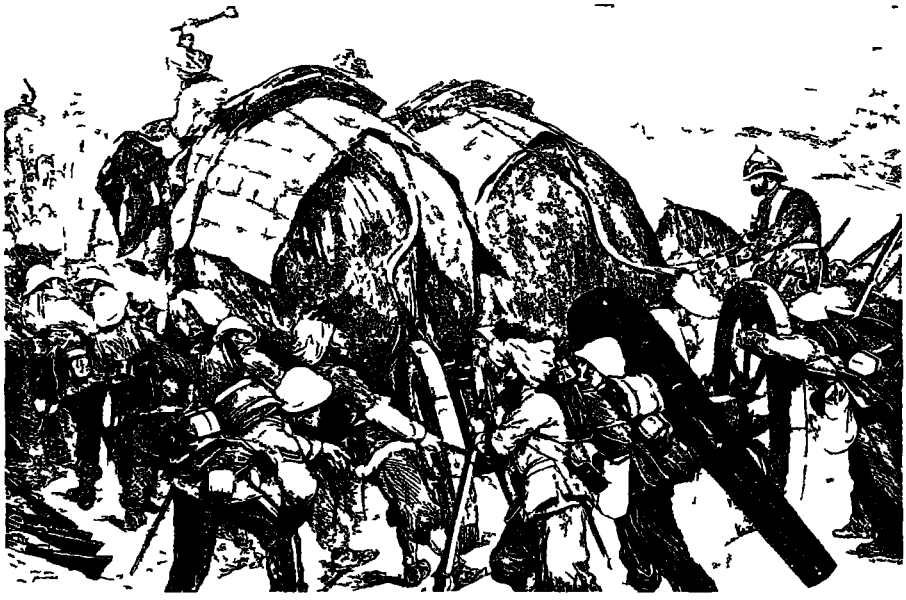
DEATH OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL: "The Prince, without Lord Chelmsford's knowledge, was despatched with Lieut. Carey and six men to select a camping ground. After half an hour's halt in a deserted kraal, they were preparing to ride on when a volley was fired. The Prince's horse became fidgety, and as the party rode off the Prince was seen trying to mount, and then to fall. Next day the body was found and brought into camp. A funeral parade was at once held"

1879



WITH ROBERTS IN AFGHANISTAN "The 59th Regiment storming Sebundi Pass during Sir Frederick Roberts's Afghan campaign, sketched by a subaltern who was in the action"

1878



AN ELEPHANT BATTERY IN AFGHANISTAN "Highly effective work was done by (Armstrong) 40 pounders during the punitive expedition into Afghanistan under General Roberts The guns were mainly drawn by elephants, to whose power of endurance it was due that the 40 pounders reached Ali Musjid in time to reduce the fort, and so allow our infantry to advance . "

1879



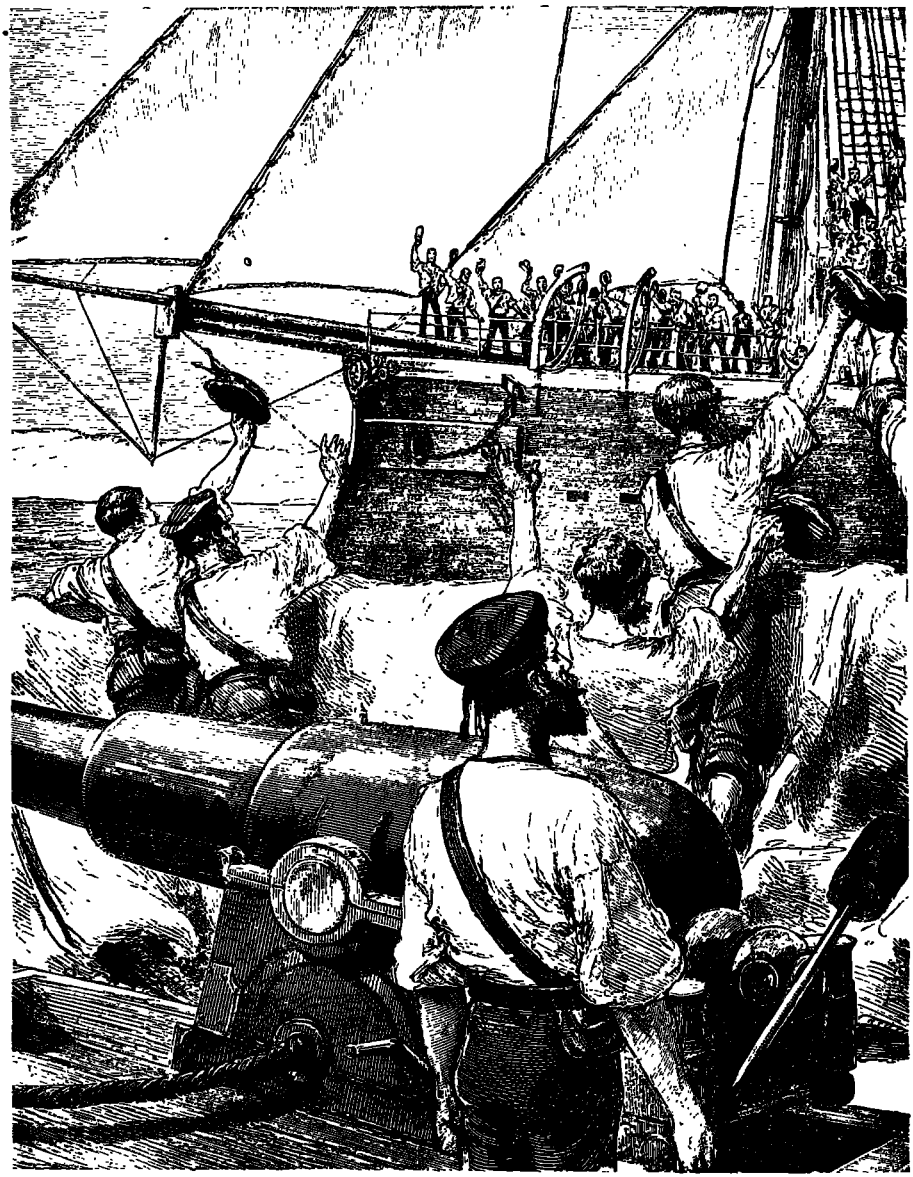
AFTERNOON TEA IN AFGHANISTAN 'The coming in of the Sayid of Kunar was looked upon as a very important affair Before any conversation two bags of silver were placed at the feet of the Politicals The bags were touched and returned then a large tray of tea was brought and after a sip of this beverage conversat on about the occupation of Jellalabad began'

1879



THE PIPE OF PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN 'The Ameer Yakub Khan smoked a 'hubble bubble' with Major Cavagnari, his whilom enemy (Cavagnari was later assassinated)

1882



"WELL DONE, 'CONDOR!'"—"So cleverly did Lord Charles Beresford's gunboat 'Condor' manœuvre during her duel with the Fort, which was strong enough to have sunk the small craft by a single shot, that the Admiral signalled 'Well done, Condor,' this being acknowledged by the crew with a cheer for their captain. Having drawn fire of the land batteries, 'Condor' was joined by the gunboats 'Beacon,' 'Cygnet' and 'Bittern,' and Marabout was soon completely silenced. As they passed the warships 'Invincible' and 'Inflexible,' the crews cheered the little vessels heartily, giving groans for Arabi, whom the sailors had christened 'Horrible Pasha.'"

1882



"*ALL SIR GARNET*": *TELEGRAMS OF VICTORY*: Sir Garnet Wolseley (in glasses), whose popularity with the troops gave rise to the phrase "All Sir Garnet," meaning "all right," despatching telegrams to London with news of his victory over Arabi Pasha at Tel-el-Kebir

1882



THE STORMING OF TEL-EL-KEBIR: "After the repulse of the attack which Arabs made on the British camp at Kassamin, Sir Garnet Wolseley ordered the whole force to be in readiness. Shortly aftes sunset the troops commenced their forward movement. The men advanced unnoticed until at dawn the enemy perceived the advance guard. The Highlanders advanced to within 300 yards of the enemy before the alarm was given. They carried the first line of entrenchments without firing a shot, and rushed the second line. The Egyptian army fled in utmost disorder"

1884

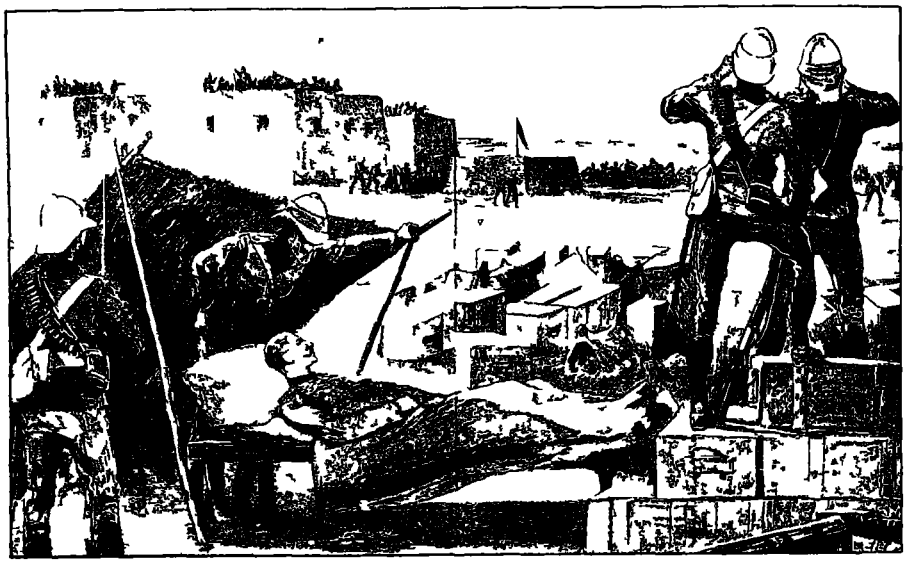


THE BREAKING OF BAKER PASHA'S SQUARE AT EL TEB Baker Pasha, marching with a small Egyptian force to the relief of Tokar, was attacked at El Teb near Suakim by the Mahdi's tribesmen and utterly routed, three quarters of his army being killed



CORPSES AND CAVALRY IN THE SUDAN: "When we reached the battlefield, where in December our black troops had been defeated and annihilated, the first indications we found were bodies lying on the ground, the skin having dried up. We judged from the stony ground, which had a few stunted shrubs, and was intersected by deep water-tracks, that the rebels had been unable to surround the native troops unseen. From the number of vultures hovering above the ridge in front of us, it seemed that the main battle must have been fought there"

1885



SIR HERBERT STEWART WOUNDED WHILE MOVING TO GORDON'S RESCUE
'The Arabs opened a galling fire soon after General Stewart sighted Metemmeh Before a fighting square could be formed General Stewart was severely wounded He continued to give orders until his wound rendered him incapable and Sir Charles Wilson took command'

1885



GORDON'S LAST MESSENGER 'Sir Charles Wilson, Major Slade and Mr Van Dyke examined two Bedouins sent by Gordon from besieged Khartoum 'Gordon Pasha' said one of the messengers, 'fired twenty one guns in his joy at hearing of the approach of the English Army'"

1889



BROKEN SWORDS AT SUAKIM "After our black troops had driven the dervishes from the trenches before Suakim the Hussars under Major Irving charged the fugitives Rough ground threw the squadron into some confusion in a hollow and thereupon the enemy's horse charged our men like a horde of fanatics Captain Graham, riding at the head of his men, spitted a horseman as one would a piece of bread on a toasting fork At the first onset several of our sabres broke over the Arab spears One trooper, with a broken sabre, was cut down from the shoulder to the waist The Sergeant Major of our troop sheathed his snapped sword and took to his revolver, but this speedily became clogged and misfired, as did other revolvers Eventually our men dismounted with carbines, which made the enemy retire"



THE LAST STAND OF FORBES'S COLUMN: "Having rashly ridden thirty-five strong right up to the Matabele King's encampment, the British column was compelled to retreat, and retreat again and again, until it finally was wiped out by overwhelming odds, with the exception of three scouts who had been sent out in a desperate attempt to see if they could bring reinforcements" (Extract from war artist's notes)

1896

'CRUEL REBELS, BRAVE ALLIES" (Left) "Some of the cruel rebels holding a kopje in the Matoppo Hills (Rhodesia), and dancing in defiance" (Right) "Our brave native allies under fire, also in the Matoppo Hills" (From sketches shown in London by an officer with the Forces)

1886



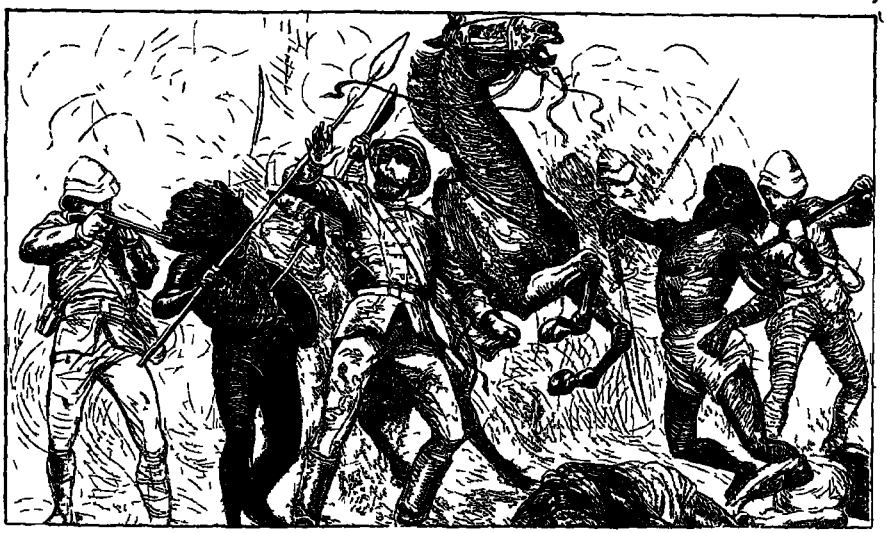
THE ROAD TO MANDALAY "A sketch by a military officer of the crossing of the Twsa River by the Somersetshire Light Infantry during the winter campaign in Upper Burmah While General Prendergast and his three columns were wending their way up the Irrawaddy, the pack elephants gave trouble, and eventually the British infantry stripped to the waist and carried their own kits across the river

1874



COLONEL FESTING WINNING THE V.C.. "Lieut. Eardley-Wilmot was shot down and left by his native troops on the ground surrounded by the savage Ashantees! Colonel Festing dashed forward and bore him to the rear, receiving a severe wound in the hip. The stick in the Colonel's hand is a stout blackthorn, which he always carried to 'encourage' his allies"

1885



PERILS OF THE WAR CORRESPONDENT: "In the rush against the British in the square at Abu Klea, a bullet struck Mr. H. H. S. Pearse of the *Daily News* in the heel, making a slight flesh wound only, but after the scrimmage, from the bloody state of his attire he might have been assisting in a slaughter-house. This was Mr. Pearse's first experience as a War Correspondent"

"THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES"

Much study of the ancient Victorians, and many conversations with their survivors, left me with a complicated labour; how to divide their huge, sprawling record into compartments. It has been impossible to enclose within one chapter their separation into social classes; the subject threads itself through all the chapters, particularly the first, which treats of manners and morals, and the last, in which Mr. Gladstone sees his era pass.

There remain the relations of the classes with what they called "the masses." The late Victorians were like ourselves in having to face resentment from a multitude oppressed by their fathers, but we are unlike them in that our multitude, after sweeping abuses away, has attained the power to oppress ourselves

The early Victorians had fostered the abuses with their industrial revolution and their blinkered social conscience, which shied from seeing whatever was not nice The poorer districts in town and country made a very ugly picture in 1870. Two-thirds of the nation had been brutalised by squalor The other third was a pretty cake icing that hid an unappetising mixture below Through the 'fifties and 'sixties the poor around pitheads, and in the new manufacturing townships, were almost sub-human in their living; under-fed with rotten food (tough meat once a week was a luxury), badly clothed, all but illiterate, living in unsanitary hutments or unventilated tenements, which were often untended because the women went to labour like the men. Their drunkenness was more a solace than a habit "What is a poor man to do," asked Mr. St. Lys in Disraeli's *Sybil,* "after his day's work, if he returns to his own roof and finds no home; his fire extinguished, his food unprepared; the partner of his life, wearied with labour in the field or the factory, in bed from exhaustion or because she has returned wet to the skin and has no change of raiment for her relief? . . . Domestic life is a condition impossible for these people; and we must not therefore be surprised if they seek refuge in the beer-shops."

Millions of pounds went in ecstatic missions to the heathen, while slums round the corner were packed with people who reached the starvation line whenever trade depression happened—and this during the half-century when the national wealth nearly doubled itself Gladstone's and Disraeli's Cabinets, through their different channels, introduced humanitarianism into what had been political economy without a soul, but the drastic remedies applied came from shocks which caused first resentment, then bewilderment, and then quickened reform

Samuel Plimsoll's fight for seamen was typical of how the sequence operated. His book *Our Seamen,* showing how "ship-knackers" killed sailors, was followed by a Royal Commission on shipping and the drafting of a Bill. When Disraeli told

the Commons that the Bill would be shelved, Plimsoll lost his head but won the nation's attention. He shouted, from the floor of the House, a demand for adjournment, besought the Premier not to send further seamen to their death, and waved frantic arms while giving information on how ships were never broken up, but passed from hand to hand until an unscrupulous owner sent them, with over-insured cargoes, to founder with their crews. Advancing to the middle of the floor, and bellowing like Boanerges, he gave notice to ask whether a list of specified ships lost at sea were owned by Edward Bates, and whether that gentleman was Edward Bates, a member of the House of Commons. He went forward to the table below the Speaker, and pitted his voice against the House's resentment with a cry that he was determined to unmask the villains who sent sailors to the bottom. When three hundred members drowned his voice in resentful pandemonium, he shook his fist at Disraeli, and after a reprimand from the Speaker he went to the bar of the House and called "Good God! don't you know that thousands of men are being sent out to drown?" The House thought the scene an outrage, and most newspapers, after condemning Plimsoll's lack of taste, suggested that since he was a landsman he could not be a shipping expert. His violence, however, disturbed fat consciences; investigation proved seven eighths of his indictment to be true. The Merchant Shipping Act, only a year later, went beyond its original intention by enforcing severe examination of ships, making over loading a legal offence, and giving the elderly coal merchant's name to the Plimsoll line of safety.

During the seventies and 'eighties interest in the submerged two-thirds advanced beyond district visiting, from which patronage and the idea of rich-and-poor created. He them were never quite absent. It became a fashion to organise days in the country, with parks opened by landowners for the families of town workers, who usually had to submit in return to religious and moral instruction. Lord Rowton was backed by rich brewers and others in his schemes for giving accommodation to the homeless poor—many thousands of whom had been made destitute by drink. William Booth's ragged Hallelujah Band of converted criminals grew into the Salvation Army, whose wild music focussed attention on pauperism, overcame the police dislike of street meetings—and relieved destitution while creating it anew by under-selling through its workshops the market in cheap labour. The Church Army, maintaining that souls in the slums must be saved by life-lines of orthodox pattern, resonantly marched into the campaign for redemption through militant charity. Lay preachers, bishops and even a cardinal visited the East End to supervise relief and harangue against the devil and the ginshop.

Another kind of benevolence sought to join art and manual labour in marriage, which was to be consummated through æsthetic contact. John Ruskin, after his publication of *Unto This Last*, turned from the artistic sterility of the middle classes to the artistic virginity of the working man. Æsthetes, preferably from the universities, were to make the masses nobly potent. As Slade Professor of Art at Oxford, Mr. Ruskin set his undergraduates to making roads, so that they might experience the joy of manual labour and come nearer to their fellow beings (his

top-hatted direction of this work is one of the sights that would make a visit to the 'seventies most worth while). His Guild of St. George's, established on co-operative lines, had many University adherents, whose sisters and aunts helped to promote East End art exhibitions and musical evenings which, it was thought, would win away interest from the gin palaces.

University and public school settlements in poor districts multiplied, and attracted collaboration from men like Baldwyn Leighton and Michael Hicks-Beach, whose beliefs were far removed from Ruskin's idealistic socialism or young Arnold Toynbee's democratic evangelism. "The University Settler," said a pamphlet of the period, "becomes a sort of Delphic oracle, consulted on all embarrassing contingencies by the entire neighbourhood." On the fringe of this movement, "slumming" from the opulent quarters degenerated at times into a fashionable fad, but did much to reveal the reality of squalor to ladies whose heads would have ached had they read Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* or Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London,* but who found pink glamour in Walter Besant's *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* and William Morris's *News from Nowhere.*

Morris, who for awhile edited the Socialist *Commonweal,* and who brought himself into the police court by interfering with the arrest of an unemployed banner-bearer, dived deeper than Ruskin into Socialism; but his vision was less of potential England than of a cloudland without landlords and capitalists, wherein clean artisans should live in artistic dwellings amid the green of the countryside, while they created handcraft beautifully. The working classes gained less that was actual from Utopians than they did from "capitalist" politicians who supported the claim made by Sir William Harcourt, "We are all Socialists now." The politicians of both parties, sometimes with earnest support from the Prince of Wales, carried through investigations into slum housing, sweated and dangerous trades, the workings of free education and the enclosure of common land. They showered reform upon the nation, together with gifts, through the new county and borough councils, of parks, gardens, museums, libraries and much-needed public baths.

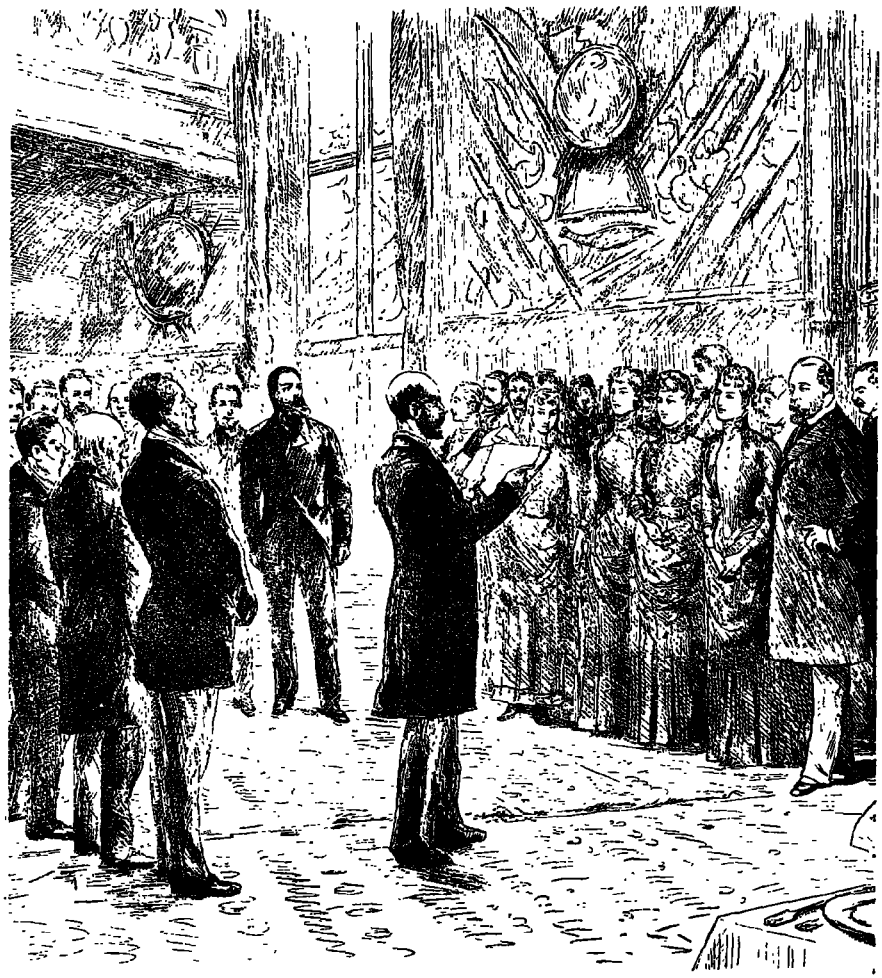
The pace, though, remained too slow for a working class suspicious of Greek gifts and harried by the unemployment that came from a recklessly quick increase of population. Labour went into politics on its own account. The trades unions, given a recognised legal status only in 1871, won a smashing success when Disraeli repealed the penal clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, after the unions had helped to rout Gladstone in revenge for his adoption of these clauses. Employers, frightened of labour's growing strength, used the trade depression between 1874 and 1880, first to check the movement for higher pay and lesser hours, and then to drive down wage rates by anything between one-eighth and a half. Intensive emigration failed to stem unemployment. Furious strikes ended in failure, lock-outs had the aggressive results intended. The new irritant of organised labour agitation provoked a return here and there of the spirit in a song dating from the Reform Act: "Rot the People, Blast the People, Damn the Lower Classes!"

When the depression ended, the trade unions were absorbed for years in tense struggle to regain membership and replace shattered funds. They emerged strong again, and found intellectual dynamite ready to hand for their purposes. Nobody except a few close associates and a few police spies gave much attention to an over-bearded old boy named Karl Marx, who quietly lived in London for forty years and there wrote *Das Kapital,* after expulsion from France and Prussia. He was an executive member of a federation of Socialist Societies, with anarchist inclinations, called the International Working Men's Association; but anarchism and communism never found in England the ready soil waiting for them on the Continent. His writings and conversations, however, gave H. M. Hyndman the idea of founding the Social Democratic Federation, whence the Socialist League split away three years later. Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, at about the same time, started the Fabian Society, which adapted political economy to labour programmes and aimed at socialising the state through the existing machinery of government, instead of violently upsetting the machinery or in the manner then orthodox to Socialists. A three-pronged trident of Socialism thus appeared suddenly to prod the self-sufficiency of the middle-class and the politicians. All three factions of the cause concentrated on street-corner harangues; the voice of the tub-thumper was loud in the land.

It was inevitable that the trades unions, remembering defeat, should make allies of these energetic advocates and take what help they could from each brand of Socialism, as well as from the rising Co-operative movement. Strange new personalities belaboured the body politic. A fantastic Fabian named George Bernard Shaw attended a meeting between parliamentary notabilities and Socialist intellectuals, and read Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Balfour a lecture to prove that the landlord, the capitalist and the burglar were equally damaging to the community. The Socialist Democratic Federation threw up John Burns, who took under his wing the militant unemployed during a renewed depression which began in 1885. Martial words from himself and Hyndman in Trafalgar Square preceded sudden riots in a march through astonished West End districts that represented mammon to the mob, which worked off its feelings by overturning carriages and smashing in Piccadilly and St. James's club-windows behind which colonels longed for troops, and in Oxford Street and Regent Street shop-windows whose owners were wrenched aside as they tried to put up shutters. Hyndman and Burns were tried for sedition; but measures of urgency for relief of the unemployed were rushed into being.

Trafalgar Square was shut to demonstrations, and was kept inviolate by Life Guards when mobs ignored the prohibition. "Bloody Sunday," in November of 1887, brought climax to the many disturbances overlooked by Nelson's column. Labour leaders led unemployed against the square from several directions, but police vedettes met every procession, and broke it up before the main body of defenders—Foot Guards with bayonets fixed and ball cartridges ready—could be reached. A savage fight between police and mob at the corner of the Strand ended only when two squadrons of Life Guards advanced from Whitehall and, holding

1886



THE PRINCE RECEIVES A DEPUTATION OF THE LONDON TRADES COUNCIL AT SANDRINGHAM "to convey thanks to His Royal Highness for originating the scheme for granting cheap admission to the working classes to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition."

their bayonets aslant, pressed through the swaying groups. Heads were broken, and one unemployed man died from injuries Burns, arrested with Cunninghame Graham (then a Liberal Member and knight errant of democracy) went to prison for six weeks London's alarm lasted for weeks, Trafalgar Square stayed guarded by police, and special constables by the thousand were enrolled and drilled as for revolution

Prosperity's return lessened the number on the starvation line, and better organisation for relief reduced unrest The trade unions for skilled men, taking able Socialists into their councils, pressed for an eight-hour day, and by short, fierce strikes won back some of their lost wages A shock to the nation came when unskilled labour, with average earnings under ten shillings a week, was able to keep the London docks closed for two months An unorganised horde, which daily waited at the gates for casual work from contractors who exploited it, marched in 1889 from dock to dock, bringing out casual workers in support of its mild demands for sixpence an hour and a minimum engagement of four hours on days when men had the luck to be hired. John Burns, recently elected to the first County Council, hurried back to the East End; but the public gave little attention to the threat until the Stevedores Union ceased work in support of the casuals Burns, with Ben Tillett, organised endurance among the half starved strikers, arranged by telegraph that provincial dockers should refuse work on ships from London, and established pickets that without violence (Burns put his own shoulders and fists between angry opponents) kept off most of the strike-breakers, whom the employers had offered wages four times higher than those asked by the strikers. The men's cause was so well pleaded that the surprised shippers found fair-minded public opinion against them. Nearly £50,000 was collected by subscription for the dockers, £4,000 of it coming by cable from Australia. Clergy of all denominations mediated for the men's families; and "the docker's tanner" received applause in the music halls The Corn Exchange, the Coal Exchange, Mincing Lane and the City's wool sale rooms had to be closed before the dockers won this portentous strike, which startled London and promoted the growth of new unions for unskilled labour, including a national union of women workers

Better times in the mid-nineties solved the unemployment problem for the moment; and Lord Salisbury's young Tories set out to rival Gladstone's Liberals in the improvement of working conditions Sporadic strikes attended a new rise in wage-levels; but trade union subscriptions rose to big totals, and manual workers had breathing space for asserting power in politics. Keir Hardie, first chairman of the new Independent Labour Party, was played down Whitehall by a brass band when he carried his cloth cap into the House of Commons as one of the first two members directly representing Labour, the other being Burns, who later became more moderate and entered a Cabinet of Liberals The separate Socialist and trade union elements fused politically in 1899 to form a Labour Representation Committee (out of which the Labour Party grew), with Ramsay Macdonald, Keir Hardie and Arthur Henderson as chief organisers If Labour ideas now seemed tied to an outlook and jargon ("capitalist," "proletariat," "class-consciousness," "wage-

slavery" and whatnot) that seem obsolete in the third decade of the twentieth century, a main reason is that most of its older leaders have minds coloured by the grievances which they helped to remedy in the 'nineties, when compulsory education was still bringing into the light thousands of under-nourished, atrociously clothed children, who hitherto had been hidden in slum warrens.

Before the 'nineties were over the upper middle-class had been lifted into conditions reserved earlier for a confined "Society"; and the lower middle classes, through a wide circulation of prosperity, had risen to the standards and the snobberies vacated by their immediate "betters." Only the working class was left, with social understanding clarified by the new education, to fight for a share in the riches accumulated by forty years of expansion.

Labour combines, meanwhile, had forced combines in capital, and both restricted the chances for individualism while broadening the basis of employment. Before the days of trade unions, multiple shops, widespread investment and easy transport everywhere, the Victorian commercial traveller was a panjandrum of consequence in his wide territory, and carried the outside world into villages and towns off the beaten track, where he entertained largely in the local hotel. To be "on the road" was then to be somebody of more consequence than the modern salesman-representative. It was easy for the traveller to finish as a merchant, not too hard for the foreman or works manager to become a manufacturer, and eminently possible for the industrious apprentice to reach at forty the status at which he rode his own horse to his own offices, where Aldermanic chains would find him in his fifties. Great individualists in the era of cheap labour—an Alfred Harmsworth, or a William Lever who, like the Cadburys, made philanthropy into the best kind of business by getting good work from spacious backgrounds for workers—greatly improved the conditions of labour. They found, indeed, that payment of better wages paid themselves; but they achieved, besides success, a paradox in making it harder for those who came after to climb as they had done. The classes, while their dividing lines vanished, were welded into a single middle class through pressure on the one side from new millionaire interests, and on the other from the masses who were uniting to conquer by numbers a promised land which they could not reach as individuals.

1872



"RETURNING FROM THE DERBY: A ROAD-SIDE SKETCH AT CLAPHAM"

1872



HIGH LIFE IN BELGRAVIA: A MUSICAL PARTY

1872



A MONDAY POPULAR CONCERT FOR THE WORKING CLASSES IN ST. JAMES'S HALL: One of the Monday "Pops" opposed to Suburban Hops by W. S. Gilbert in *Patience*

1873



CURDS AND WHEY IN ST. JAMES'S PARK: "The 'Milk Fair' is not what it was when Members of Parliament were interrupted while airing in the 'Green Walk' by the noisy cries, 'A can of red cow's milk, sir!' Nursemaids and children still quaff the 'mug,' but the 'milk folk' have now taken to sell other drinkables, as gingerbeer and lemonade"

1876

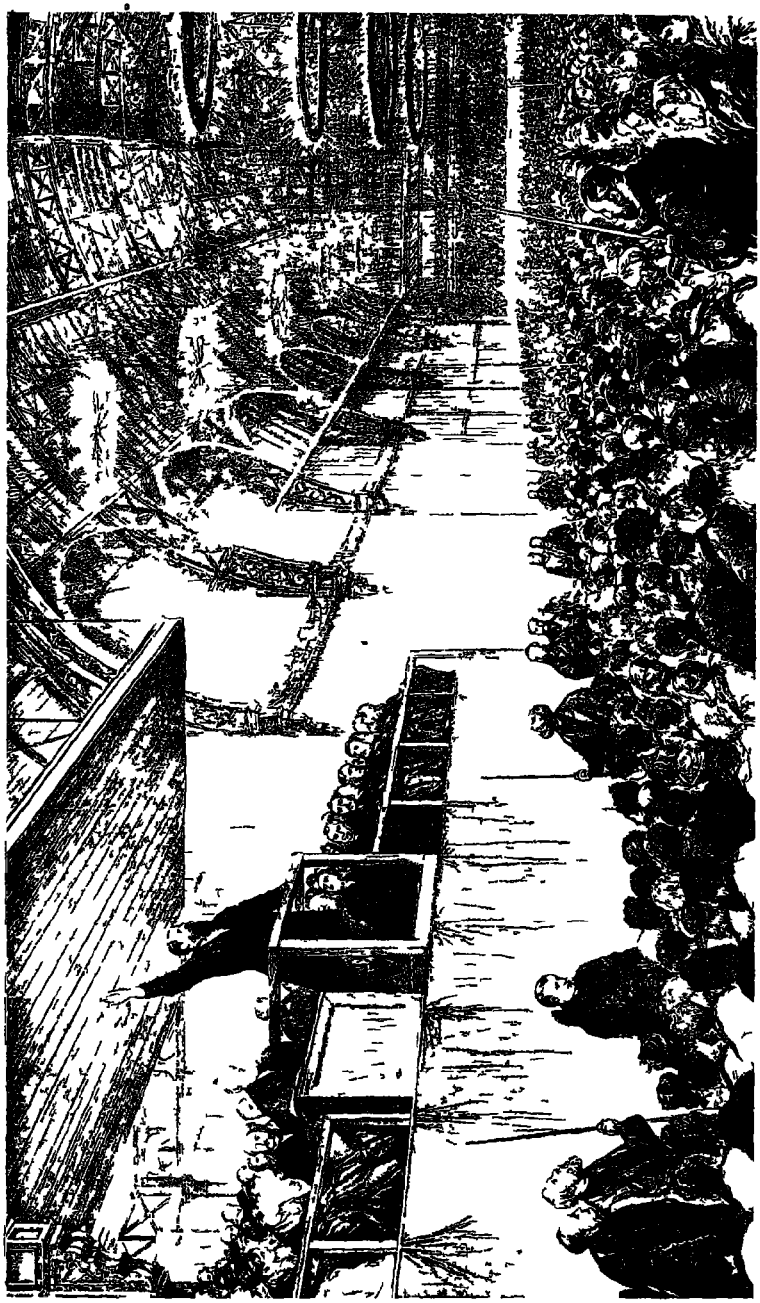


MAY FAIR: A SUNDAY AT HOME NEAR THE ACHILLES STATUE, HYDE PARK



OXFORD UNDERGRADUATES ROAD-MAKING UNDER MR RUSKIN'S INSTRUCTION "Mr Ruskin's notion that physical exercise should be taken in such a manner as to be productive of some profitable result in addition to the mere development of the muscles, has given rise to a good deal of discussion The Oxford Undergraduates who have adopted the idea, and set themselves to work at road-making, do not appear to have entered with much enthusiasm into the affair Hardly any of the diggers work for two consecutive days, and the awkward manner in which the strange tools are used subjects the amateur navvies to much rustic jeering and chaff The work is carried out according to minute written instructions from Mr Ruskin, and most of the diggers are from Balliol"

1875



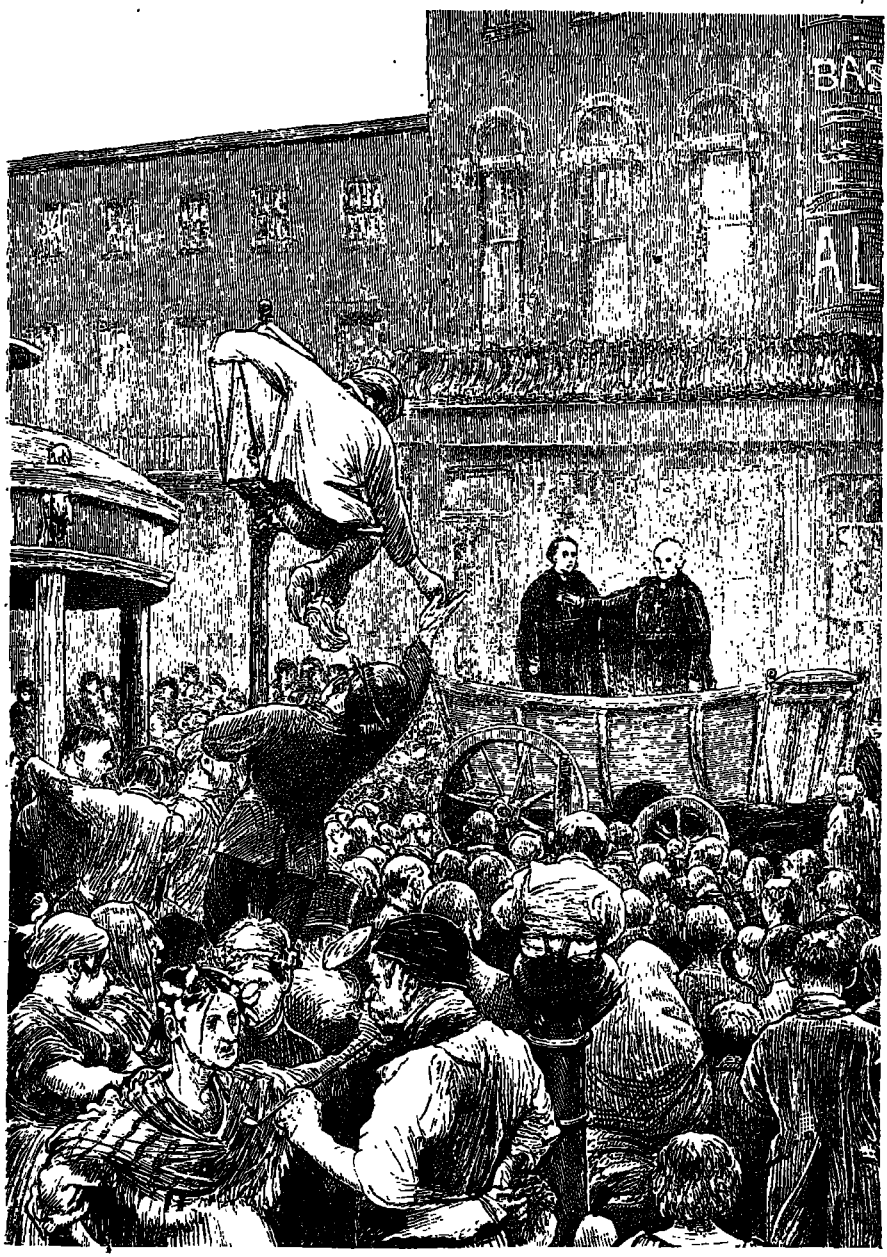
A MOODY AND SANKEY MEETING AT THE AGRICULTURAL HALL "Crazy Moody, as he was called when he threw up 1,200 dollars a year as a clerk in a boot store, is now known as 'Brother Moody,' and has come among us to evangelise England and to convert heathen as degraded as cannibals Nothing can be simpler than his Revival meetings His style is both forcible and straightforward and if he finds attention flagging, he breaks off, and Mr Sankey's melodious voice soon reminds them of the purpose for which they are assembled'

1872



"A DAY IN THE COUNTRY FOR LONDON CHILDREN. Provided for the really deserving poor by charitable subscriptions through the National Sunday Schools Association"

1872



CARDINAL MANNING ADMINISTERING THE TEMPERANCE PLEDGE: "An incident on Clerkenwell Green during Dr. Manning's campaign to persuade the poor but drunken Irish in London to save their souls by forswearing the demon of whisky and other strong liquors"

1872



"MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN A BEER AND GIN PALACE"

1874



"WAITING ON SUNDAY IN SEVEN DIALS FOR A PUBLIC HOUSE TO OPEN

1879



SUNDAY AFTERNOON IN A GIN PALACE "The great argument in favour of opening museums and picture galleries on Sundays is that they would be an alternative to the public houses, which are so seductive for the working man on cold, wet and gloomy Sunday afternoons"

1879



SUNDAY AFTERNOON IN A PICTURE GALLERY · "The 'Sunday Society' which includes several clergymen, recently arranged for the opening on three successive Sundays of an exhibit in New Bridge Street of water colour drawings, which was eagerly visited by working folk"



A DAY IN THE COUNTRY WITH THE CHILDREN'S ANNUAL OUTING SOCIETY "The pleasures of a day in the country, for children, who have looked forward to it for weeks past, depends greatly on the efforts of the kind ladies and gentlemen who arrange the programme Chief among these are those parochial Sisters of Charity who are the indefatigable lieutenants of a Vicar and Rector, scarcely inferior to those in energy is the little and nervous Curate, who, bashful to the extreme in public, compels himself to open every game, 'pour encourager les autres.' He earns at least the loving admiration of the ladies, who see nothing but beauty in the lines of his contortions"

1894

THE PHOTOGRAPHER AT A BEAN-FEAST: "By the time the photographer arrives, the holiday-makers are generally rid of any stolidity which may have characterised them earlier in the day. They consequently regard the performance of the photographer less as a historical function than as a practical joke. The effect is to make them incapable of standing still at the critical moment." The effect upon the photographer is to reduce him to a condition bordering upon imbecility as he tries to range them in decent orderliness" (Drawn from life by Paul Renouard

1886



UNEMPLOYED LOOTING IN PICCADILLY: "Shops in Piccadilly were looted by unemployed roughs until, confronted by a strong body of police, the mob gradually melted away, leaving behind it memories of brutal violence and infamous rapine not easily effaced"

1887
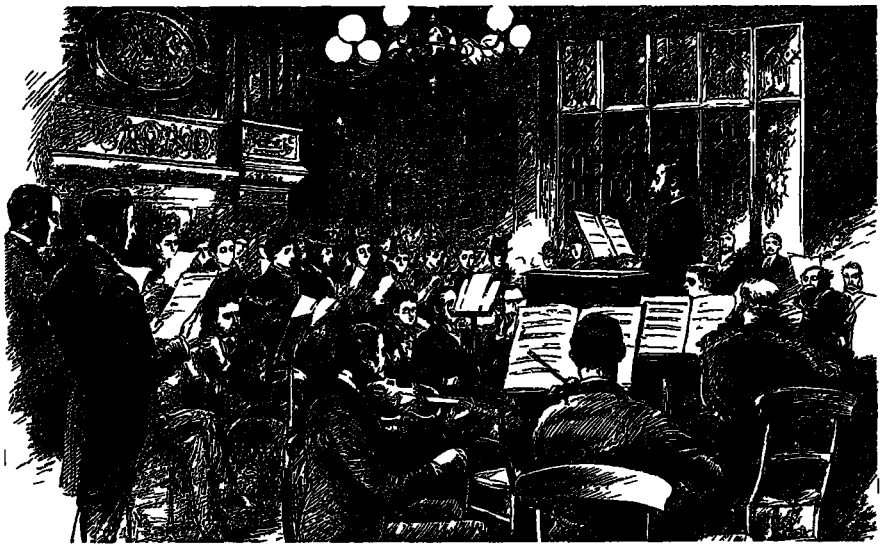


ENROLMENT OF SPECIAL CONSTABLES: "The special constables who have assisted the police in preserving Trafalgar Square from the invasion of riotous unemployed mobs include Q.C.'s, M.P.'s, Government Officials, tradesmen and their assistants, many volunteers and a few artisans. There was jeering while top-hatted instructors addressed them from the plinth"

1872



THE "HOLE IN THE WALL" Sunday evening with the London Republicans in Kirby Street, London The following is a specimen of Sunday evening declamation at this resort:
"Go down, gorged and gross, go, the seigneur and varlet,
For you rot in the heart and the brain, like the harlot"

1890

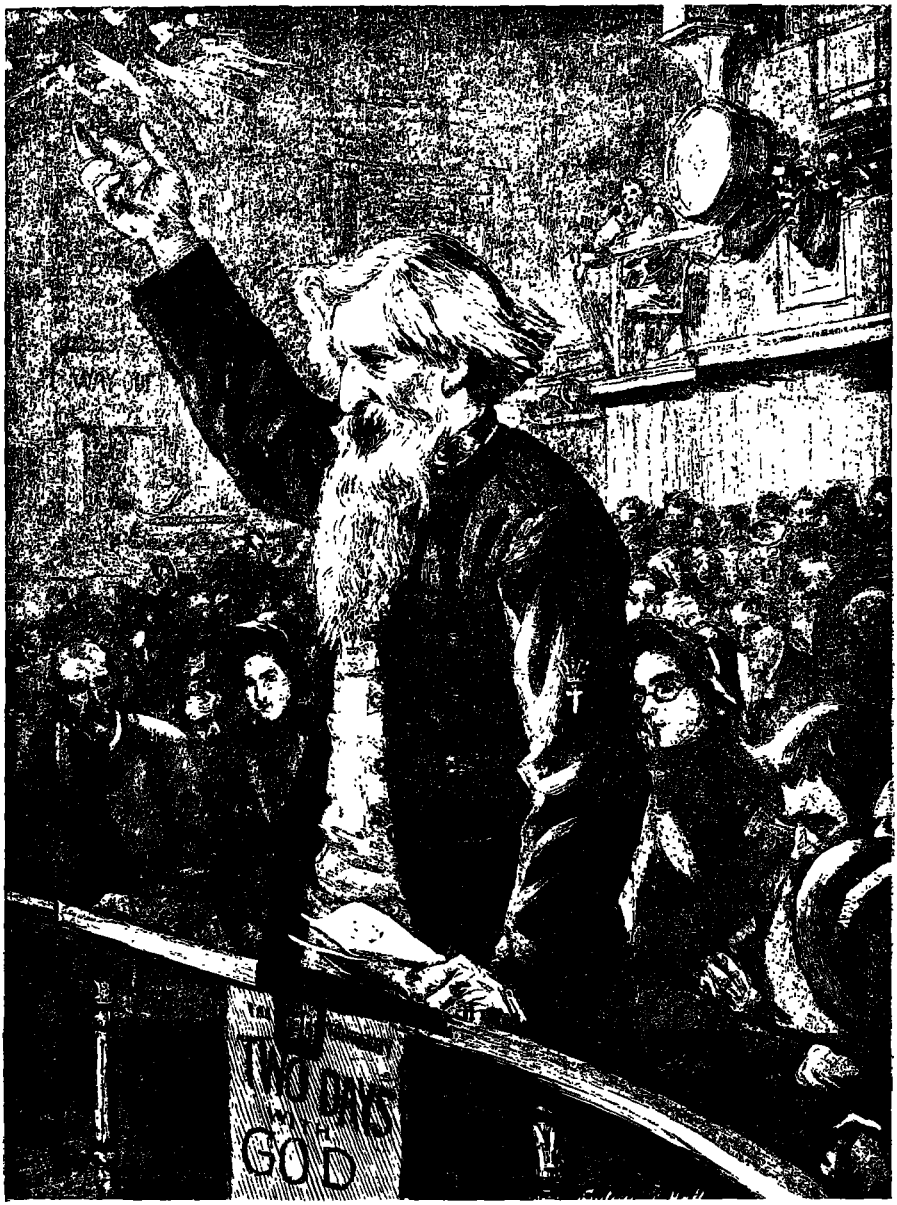


MUSIC FOR THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES "The popular musical union, for the musical training of the industrial classes, has been visiting Bermondsey, Clerkenwell, and Whitechapel, with programmes ranging from the 'Messiah' to the songs of Sullivan Over 20,000 persons attended, and these will carry the joy of music to others among the masses"

1892



SUNDAY EVENING AT THE ANARCHISTS' CLUB IN BERNERS STREET, E.: "'Awake, ye men who toil!—Up, proletarians!'—followed by groans for the Capitalists and cheers for Karl Marx, the German Socialist writer who is now a refugee living in London"



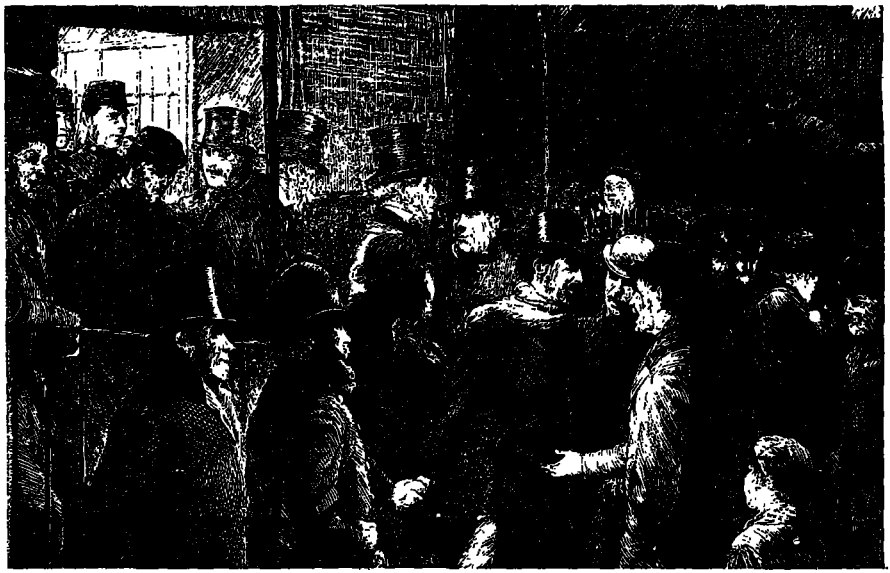
TWO DAYS WITH GOD IN DARKEST ENGLAND: "General Booth on one of the platforms where he has unfolded his plans for restoring to self-respect that large portion of the community sunk in hopeless poverty and degradation. Although Professor Huxley has raised his agnostic voice in denunciation of 'corybantic Christianity,' General Booth should be given an opportunity to experiment as his followers possess enthusiasm, simple-heartedness and 'go'"

1872



"THE FLOGGING IN NEWGATE GAOL OF A THIEF": A sketch drawn from life

1870



THE DEBTORS' NEW YEAR: "On the last stroke of midnight of December 31, 63 inmates of the old Debtors Prison were discharged under the new Bankruptcy Act. One man, who had been in for 27 years, went to a beggars' shelter. Another had been there 7 years for a debt of £40"

1889



RED STAR CHILD MURDERERS AT HOLY SERVICE: "These infanticides are branded or labelled with two stars, like a second-class quality of Henessey's or Martell's cognac; the red star under the black one being significant of 'murder most foul.' These infanticides, serving a life sentence in Woking convict prison, are said by the warders, however, to be the best behaved of all female transgressors, many of them being truly penitent, thanks to the chaplain"

1889



MRS. MAYBRICK ADDRESSES THE COURT: "Sir Charles Russell, Q.C., having mentioned that Mrs. Maybrick, charged with (and afterwards convicted of) the murder of her husband, desired to make a statement regarding her children and the late Maybrick, the Court was crowded with Bank Holiday sightseers. The prisoner wore long white cuffs, black gloves and a thin veil, and clung to the front of the dock for several moments, swaying to and fro in an earnest effort to restrain her tears while she spoke in a voice broken with emotion"

1889



"THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES" AT ASCOT "Last Wednesday was aptly termed an 'ideal Cup Day,' although a little more cool wind would have been acceptable. Of late years Ascot has grown more staid and aristocratic, and a highly respectable air now prevails not merely on the exclusive 'lawn,' and in paddock and grand stand, where brilliant and tasteful toilettes were paraded, but even among the 'masses' on the Heath facing the charmed circle"

INTERNATIONAL OCCASIONS

Most of civilisation submitted to violent political change between 1870 and 1900. Civil conflict, wars with neighbours, *coups d'état,* fundamental alterations in the form of government; these were plentiful, and no Power was exempt from all of them. The period opened with a belt of disturbances buckled round the world from the furthermost East (where a Japanese Mikado had just driven the last Shogun from power, but was still harried by feudalists who bitterly opposed the introduction of foreign influence) to the far West, where Brazil fought Paraguay and revolution stirred in Mexico, Peru and half the countries recently emancipated from Spanish domination.

In Europe the Franco-German War had just begun, supposedly through a dispute over candidates for the Spanish throne, but with deeper causes that included Napolcon III's belief in his inheritance of destiny, and the determination of Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm I to weld a strong Empire out of German federation. The resonant victory—

> "Glory to God, my dear Augusta,
> We have had another buster.
> Ten thousand Frenchmen sent below,
> Praise God from whom all blessings flow"

—had vital results other than the establishment of a strong German Empire and the elimination of a French one in favour of the Third Republic. It tore away French provinces that became the French nationalist grail for vows of recovery. It provoked the Commune in Paris, which shot communist ideas all over Europe. And the withdrawal of French troops held in Rome for the Pope left the way open for King Victor Emmanuel to march in and occupy the Eternal City, thus putting the essential corner-stone upon the united independent Italy which Mazzini and the Carbonari had plotted, Garibaldi and the variegated rest had fought for, and Cavour had intricately planned.

England, in the middle 'seventies, was again the strongest power in Europe, which included a humiliated France, an Austria-Hungary gnawed by racial dissension, a Spain weakened by civil war and a Russia intent on Asiatic expansion. The recently-born German Empire took the lead on the Continent, and held it until Wilhelm II dismissed Bismarck in 1890.

Anglo-Russian rivalry echoed through the Near East, where the Ottoman Empire was rotting to pieces. In 1870 most of the Balkan peninsula was under Turkey; by 1900 more than half of Turkey-in-Europe was independent. Osman

Pasha's victory at Plevna could not hold up defeat in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, which derived from Russian pan-Slavist ambitions grafted on to horror at the massacre of Bulgarian Christians after an insurrection. Disraeli's refusal (which threatened Anglo-Russian war) to let Russia take either Constantinople or any sea-outlet on the way to India led to the Berlin Congress and the formation of Balkan States. The Congress was a polished duel between Disraeli, aged 73, and the Russian Gortchakoff, aged 80, with Bismarck, nearly 70, acting as "the honest broker" who yet nursed the interests of Austria, for whom he secured Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their settlement of old problems raised many new ones, but it achieved Disraeli's urgent desire to curb Russian influence in the Near East. "The old Jew, that is the man," said Bismarck.

A side-issue of the Congress was the French conquest of Tunis, which Bismarck favoured as a means of letting France forget in new overseas provinces the rape of Alsace-Lorraine. Soon afterwards Bismarck became stirred by Colonial ambitions for Germany; without a fleet and without moving a soldier, he annexed millions of square miles in German East Africa, South-West Africa, Togoland, the Cameroons and Northern New Guinea. The big race across the world for new territories was in full swing.

The main centre of foreign interest moved to Egypt, which under a weakened Turkey came beneath first the financial domination of European Powers. The Khedive Ismail's chronic extravagance and need for money led to Disraeli's coup of paying, with Rothschild help, £4,000,000 in quick cash for his Suez Canal shares; a deal which committed Britain to a lasting interest in Egypt. The Khedive's credit totally collapsed in the year after, and a Franco-British Commission took control on behalf of bondholders who had financed (and fleeced) him.

Next, Arabi Pasha's revolt against Ismail's nerveless successor as Khedive brought a British bombardment of Alexandria, in reprisal for the killing of Europeans. The French having declined to co-operate, the dual control of Egypt ended when Wolseley trounced Arabi. "In a fit of absent-mindedness," Britain had acquired domination in Egypt, with an attendant sequence of troubles in the Soudan—slave-trading, the Mahdi's revolt against the infidel and the oppressive Egyptian tax-gatherers, the disaster to Hicks Pasha's army, and Gordon's mission to evacuate the Soudan—a mission which he appeared to forget after reaching Khartoum. The fall of Khartoum and Gordon's death ended an adventure that was not renewed until eleven years later. By then, in 1896, the race for African "places in the sun" had assumed nervous intensity as the available places diminished; and in this mood England decided that Egypt's safety lay in the re-conquest of the Soudan. Kitchener's complete victories over the Soudanese Khalifa opened the way to the Great Lakes and made possible the all-red belt across Africa, from Cairo to Cape Town.

It also drew European jealousies and brought a dangerous friction with France when Major Marchand was sent to hoist the French flag at Fashoda. Britain's announced standpoint that the Equatorial Provinces were her "sphere of influence" was Kitchener's reason for hurrying to Fashoda from Khartoum, and

while keeping on friendly terms with Marchand, hoisting the British flag as well. Tension grew up in France, who had ambitions of her own for a territorial strip across Africa; and her capitulation at Fashoda, in face of Lord Salisbury's adamancy, left bad blood stirring.

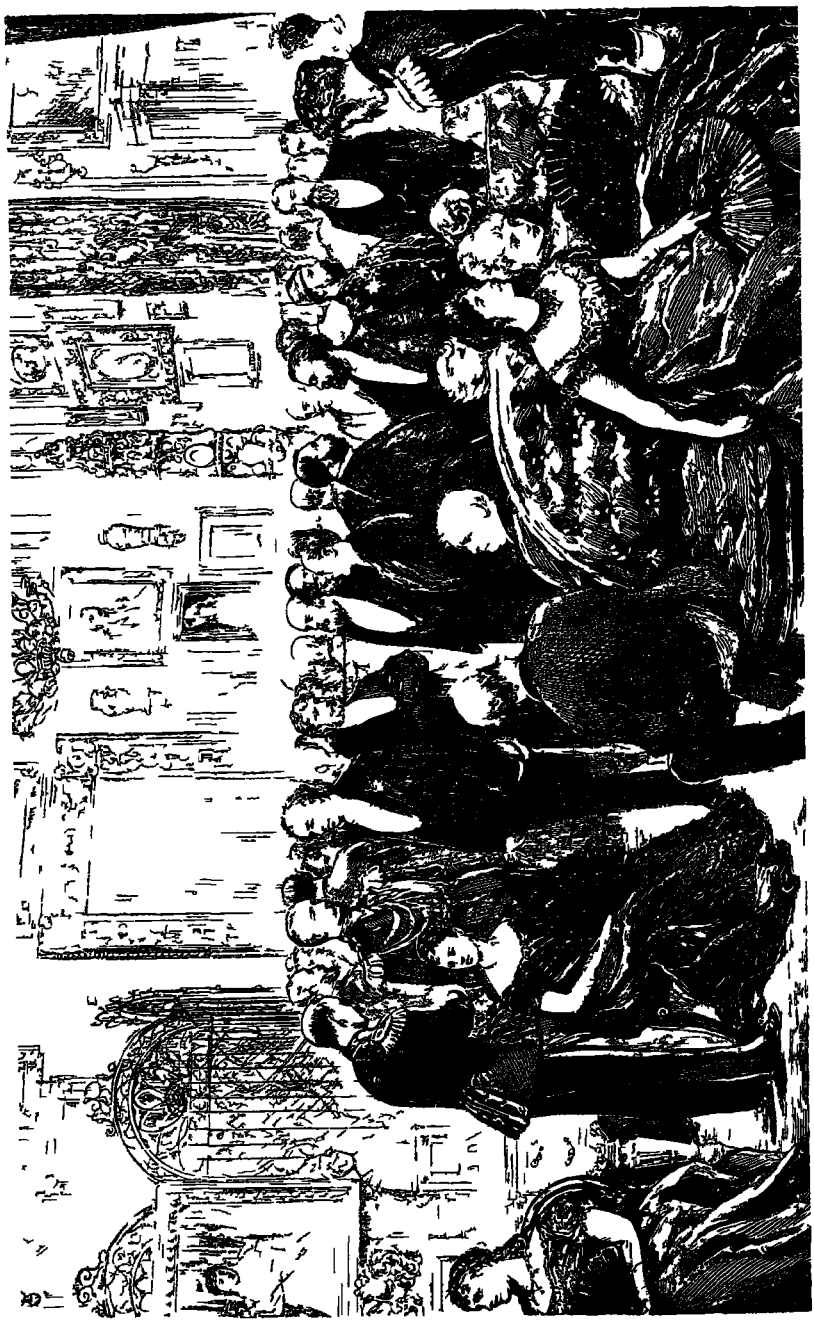
Eastward into Asia, the story is one of Russian expansion, British moves to check it; determination by Germany, France and a rising Japan not to be left out of the scramble for acquisition, and resentment from the helpless Chinese Empire, goaded by encroachments from the newer civilisation which she disliked.

Britain and India watched with alarm the Russian absorption of province after province in Central Asia. With the British, Russian and Chinese Empires almost touching at one point, the penetration of Russian influence into Afghanistan finally brought action against the unfriendly Amir Shere Ali. The expedition to Kabul under Generals Sir Sam Browne and Roberts having eliminated the Russian mission, a British one was installed under Sir Louis Cavagnari; but Sir Louis and his mission were murdered when the British forces withdrew, and a second invasion of Afghanistan culminated in the placing on the throne of a British nominee and Roberts's famous march to relieve Kandahar. Gladstone's dislike of Imperial adventure led to evacuation by the British, who kept control of the Khyber Pass. More Central Asian occupations by Russia led to further anxieties, but Russo-British relations improved when Russian ambitions shifted to Northern Asia.

The menace to India from the North having faded away, Britain found herself contending with French rivalry eastward, in Burmah and Indo-China. Commercial privileges given in Burmah to French (and in some cases Italian) subjects were denied to British. The rejection of an ultimatum to King Theebaw led to the occupation of Mandalay by an Indian army, and to the issuing of the fifty-word statement by Lord Dufferin, as Viceroy, whereby Upper Burmah was annexed. Trouble then arose over the frontier between Burmah and Indo-China. Sharp argument, and even threat, continued for three years, after which Lord Salisbury granted all that France demanded.

The international scramble lasted longer in China. England's aim had been to maintain the Chinese Empire's territorial integrity. In the 'eighties Russia, France and Japan (then growing into the Eastern model of a Western State) began to make encroachments. Russia's desire was for a warm water port, free from ice all the year round, on the Pacific coast. To that end she pressed into Manchuria, and planned diversions from her newly-conceived Trans-Siberian railway (this enterprise, undertaken with the help of French money, incidentally promoted the drawing away of Russian interests from Germany to France). France established shadowy claims on the former Chinese provinces of Annam, Cochin China, Tonkin and Cambodia. Japan, wanting a headquarters on the mainland, cast eyes on Korea. She found pretexts for war, and surprised Europe with a relentless efficiency that defeated the Chinese on land and sea, and forced the cession of islands and mainland territory, including Port Arthur. The concessions on the mainland were forced back at the instance of Russia, France and Germany; and

1878



BEACONSFIELD AT THE BERLIN CONGRESS 'A reception of Plenipotentiaries at the British Embassy. From left to right facing the artist, Lady Odo Russell, Count Schouvaloff, the Earl of Beaconsfield, Count Andrassy, the Marquis of Salisbury, Baron D'Oubril, Herr von Bulow, M. Waddington, Lord Odo Russell (the British Ambassador), Mehemet Ali Pasha, and Mr H. Dering'

within three years Russia seized Port Arthur in retaliation for the siege of Kiao-chow by Germany. Britain followed by taking Wei-hai-Wei, and France took Kwan-chow-Wan. Chinese patience, exhausted by the long period of grab, completely gave way; the Boxer war followed, and led to many atrocities and further losses in Chinese independence.

The remaining territorial changes before 1900 were in or near the Americas. The Latin American republics, after establishing their complete independence of Spain, Portugal and two emperors nominated from Europe, intermittently nibbled at each other's land, while the United States gave herself a brief to watch that no Power except herself should fish for influence in the troubled waters. The same sort of brief was a motive, late in the 'nineties, for the war against Spain in support of the oppressed Cubans. The cession by Spain of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines ended the Spanish-American war with complete success for the United States in her rôle of Big Brother to the Latin States.

Internally, the pre-M'kinley era in the United States was from 1870 one of consolidation and large-minded development, interrupted only now and then by Indian risings, violent strikes and financial turmoil. The ferment left over from the Civil War passed during the 'seventies, the South recovered in part, the industrial North made astonishing progress. More Western States—the Dakotas, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming—joined the Union. Vast grain-lands, cattle-lands and sheep-lands were opened up in the Middle West, with attendant rushes into free lands taken from Indian tribes. Railroad networks across the continent were completed. Discoveries in oil and copper made new millionaires overnight. Negroes obtained the vote, Chinese were excluded, but a haphazard immigration, which was to cause lawlessness, flowed in from all over Europe. The Mormons were deprived of polygamy. The American woman's famous pedestal was built; women received the vote in some States, in others they inaugurated a war against whisky and other "liquor." Chicago and San Francisco grew to be great cities. New industries, new inventions, new wealth, new strength, new attitudes, new racial strife, even new religions rose throughout the Union. The United States came to be known as claimant for the Biggest in Everything.

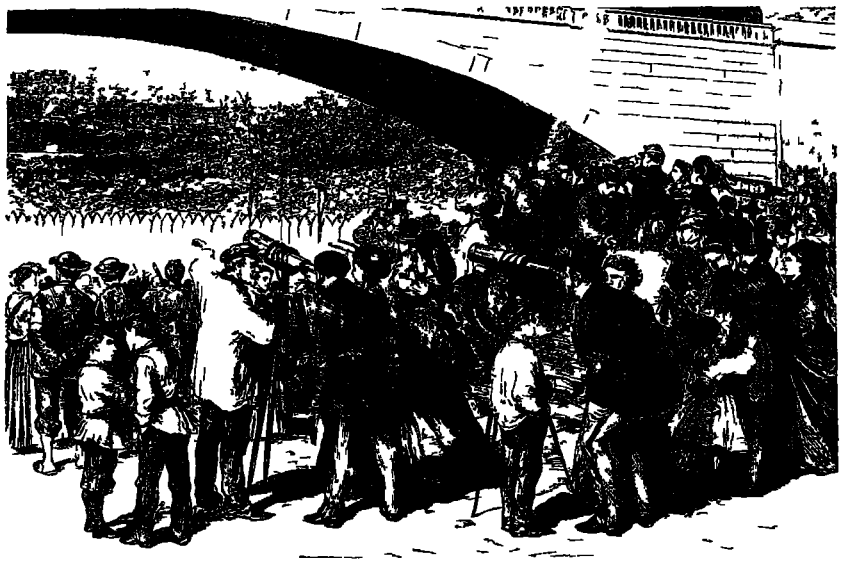
The final years in Europe saw the Continent dividing itself into great armed combinations, separately jealous of each other, but jointly jealous of Britain's navy and colonisation, which had successfully conflicted with the overseas interests of Germany, France and Russia (in the case of France, the irritation was intensified by Fashoda, and by British sympathy with the victim of the Dreyfus military tyranny). Europe met at the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899, talked politely, and rose to watch the Boer War through telescopes that, except in Italy and Scandinavia, were distorted by bias against England.

1871

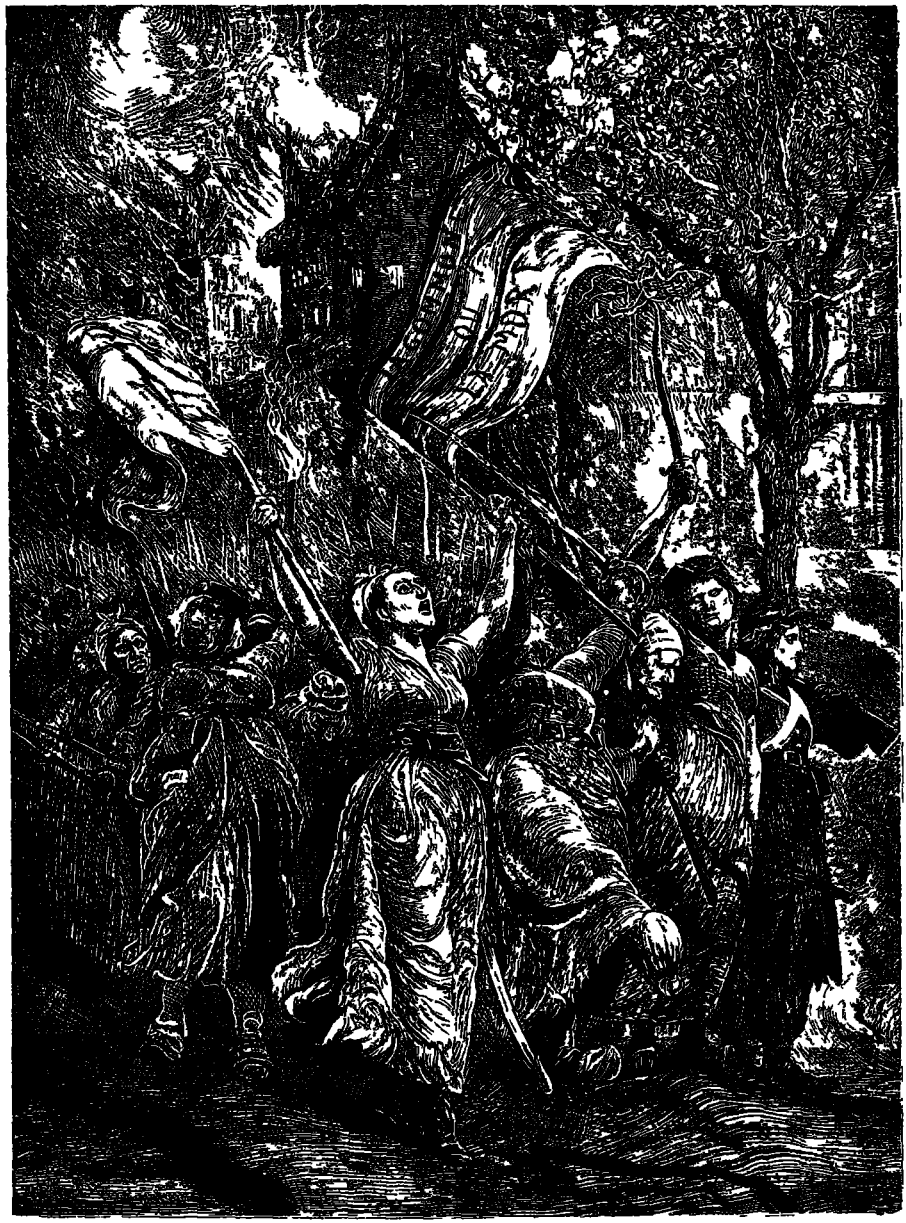


A CAT AND DOG BUTCHER IN BESIEGED PARIS "A large dog fetches from 200 to 300 francs, but small ones sell for 12, 20 or 30 francs Cats vary from 9 to 25 francs We have already consumed elephants, camels, giraffes, etc, from the Jardins d'Acclimatation et des Plantes, but these are luxuries only for the very rich The poor eat rats

1870



"TWO SOUS FOR A PEEP AT THE PRUSSIANS" "Owners of telescopes in Paris are reaping a harvest by hiring out their instruments at a spot whence the Prussians can be seen on the heights of Meudon. The proprietors find a tufted willow stump in the distance which looks like a Uhlan, more profitable than the most brilliant comet in peace time'



COMMUNE, OR DEATH—THE WOMEN OF MONTMARTRE. Amazons of the Commune—"coarse, brawny, unwomanly and degraded," marching to defend a barricade against the National Guards after the Franco-Prussian War. "Each woman had a chassepot slung across her shoulders, a belt and a cartouche box full of cartridges, and a jeering, shameless look"

1872



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL IN THE CORSO, ROME, AFTER THE RISORGIMENTO



PROCLAMATION OF A SPANISH REPUBLIC "The street sign in Madrid on 'Ambassadors' Street' was broken up, the foreign representatives being supposed to have Monarchical tendencies, except the United States Minister, who is to offer the new Republic congratulations"

1872



THE FIRST RAILWAY IN JAPAN: (Sketched by a native artist): "The opening ceremony at Yeddo of the railway which connects that city with Yokohama was by no means well attended"

1875



AN EXECUTION AT YOKOHAMA: "The first man having been led forward, the executioner wetted the long sharp blade with a drop of water, took aim, and with the slightest possible movement severed the head from the body; two coolies sprang forward, one thumped the back of the corpse to quicken the rush of blood, while the other took the head from the pit, washed it and held it up, perfectly white and perfectly calm in expression. The corpse was shoved aside, covered with mats, and the next victim was led forth for a repetition of the same gruesome ceremonies"

1889



A EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION FOR JAPAN: "The Emperor Mutsuhito has fulfilled his promise of nine years ago that a Parliamentary system would be carried into effect before 1890. He read the new Constitution in the new Palace in Tokio, in the presence of all the power, wealth, intellect and high lineage of Japan. The royal family appeared either in evening dress or in uniforms modelled on those of Europe. The Constitution met with popular rejoicing, but 'Old Japan' showed itself in the assassination that very morning of Viscount Mori, Education Minister"

1879



SAHIBS AT SUEZ—AND SOME UNPUKKA BEHAVIOUR: "It would be easier to write in the midst of a pitched battle than to attempt a detailed account amid such a tumult as attended the opening of the new Suez station. A peer on a portmanteau here, a Congressman on a hat box there, confusion everywhere—a stormy multitude with multitudinous baggage"

1880



IN RE MR. DISRAELI'S PURCHASE OF THE KHEDIVE'S SUEZ CANAL SHARES: "The excitement was naturally intense when the news reached Cairo. English, French, Turks, Armenians and Israelites ignored the performance in the Opera House and remained in the lobby to discuss how England means ultimately to use the shares she has acquired"



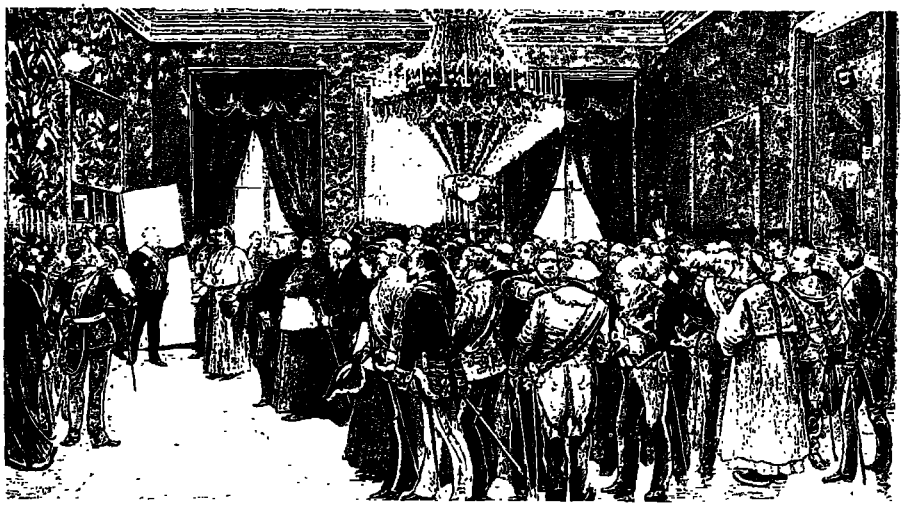
SACRIFICE FOR THE SYRIAN RAILWAY'S FIRST SOD "The Mussulman portion of the inaugural ceremony, when the first sod was cut of the new Syria Ottoman Railway which is to connect Haifa with Damascus, included the slaughter on the exact spot of one sheep, and of fourteen others close by, the blood from their throats being allowed to saturate the ground"

1880



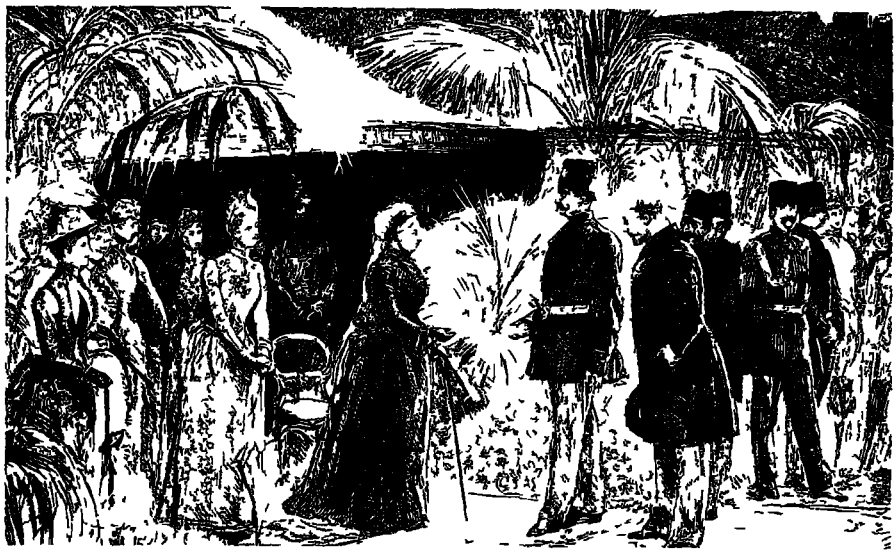
THE JESUITS EXPELLED FROM FRANCE: "The headquarters of the Jesuits in Paris, in the Rue de Sèvres, was forcibly entered by police agents, as was every other Jesuit confraternity throughout France. The Police Commissary read the decree of expulsion, and when the request to open the inner door was refused, the doors were forced by a locksmith, and the Priests, many of them old and feeble, were led out through kneeling crowds amid cries of 'A bas la République'"

1887



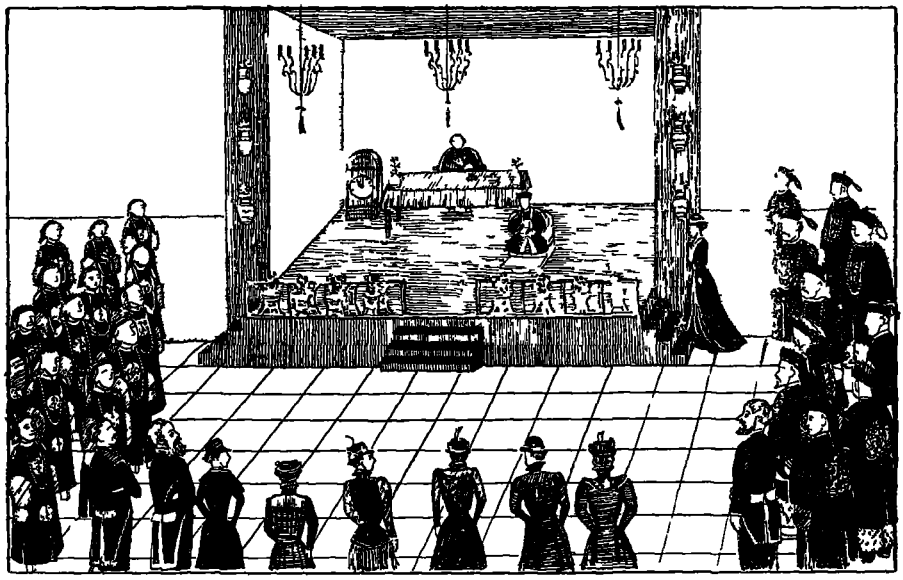
THE BIRTH OF KING ALFONSO: "Much anxiety preceded the childbirth of the widowed Regent of Spain, as in the event of the birth of a girl, trouble might have arisen from the Carlist or Republican parties. The birth of the infant Alphonso on May 17, 1886, was announced as a sign of Providence by Señor Sagasta, the Premier, when he arrived from the Queen-Mother's suite to inform the Ministers, officials and grandees who in such cases are entitled to 'a private view.' The young Prince, on a silver salver, was shown to the assemblage amid cries of 'Viva el Rey'"

1889



PERSIA VISITS ENGLAND. "At the Marlborough House reception, Queen Victoria received Shah Nasiru'Din with a gracious handshake The Eastern Potentate, as usual, beckoned the Princess of Wales to his side, and expressed his thanks by means of those curious pantomimic actions which have often been seen to cause embarrassing amusement to Her Royal Highness"

1899



THE FIRST CHINESE IMPERIAL RECEPTION OF FOREIGN LADIES "The ladies of the Diplomatic Body, seven in number, mounted the dais one by one, bowed to the Boy Emperor, and shook hands with the Empress Dowager, who presented to each a gold ring" (By a Chinese artist)

1878



AMENITIES OF 19TH CENTURY EXPLORATION Mr H M Stanley s Anglo American Expedition to Central Africa having moved to Bumbireh Island on Lake Victoria, the natives were amiable until the explorers' canoe was hauled on to dry land They then collected a large force through war cries "Twelve captives including myself were in their power, and how we escaped death when every bow was drawn and every spear quivered in the hand, and clubs were whirled menacingly is more than I can say The steadiness of my looks disconcerted them, and bows were unstrung, although they seized my hair and tugged it vengefully One man received a blow on the head, another a savage poke in the ribs with a spear . They were kind enough to notify us that they intended to cut our throats and to tell us in a scornful manner to get ready ' The party escaped by one section distracting the natives attention with a present of cloth while the others pushed the boat into the lake, and sank the three canoes sent in pursuit

1891



LYNCHINGS IN NEW ORLEANS "Following the murder of Mr David Hennessy, superintendent of New Orleans police, because of his attempts to suppress the league of assassins, nineteen Italians were tried for his murder The jury, said to have been intimidated or bribed, acquitted six of the prisoners, who were kept in gaol for the night A document was then issued by leading lawyers, merchants, and ex-officials, calling citizens to an open air meeting, where it was resolved to lynch the prisoners The lynchers broke into the prison in broad daylight and shot or hanged eleven Italians, thus causing a diplomatic rupture between the U S and Italy"

1898



THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR Buying War Bonds at the Sub-Treasury in New York City

1888



' MEN AND CUSPIDORS INSIDE THE HALL OF THE MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS HOTEL YELLOWSTONE PARK, U S A

1887

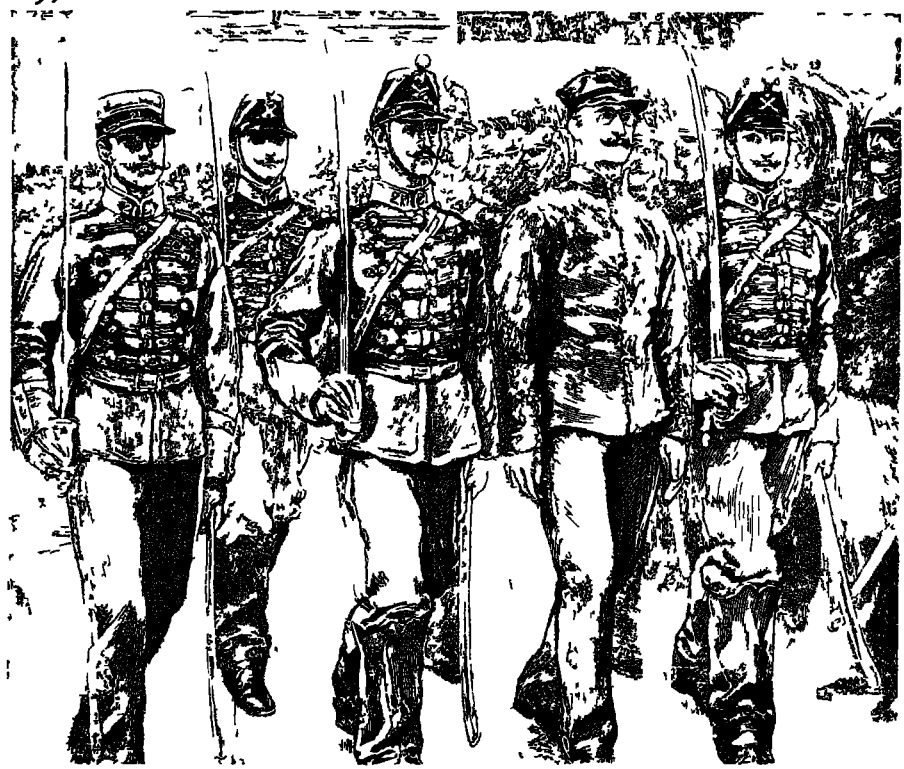


AMONG THE TEXAS COWBOYS ' Cowboys and their friends ride into 'town' on a Sunday, and sit outside the saloons talking The Texan law against opening saloons on Sunday is not enforced, so that drinking goes on, but not too much, as persistent tippling ruins the nerves of men who must ride anything anywhere at any time on any other day of the strenuous week"



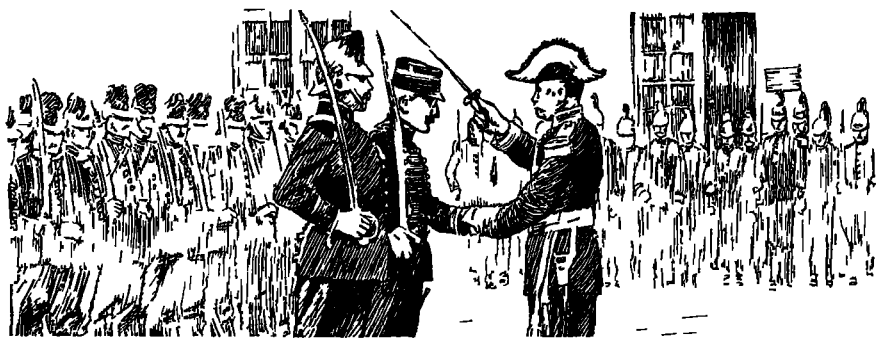
PRIM ATOMS AT NIAGARA: "If there is one place where that 19th century nuisance the ambulatory photographer becomes a positive insult, it is at Niagara Falls. Yet there are people who never seem to get tired of seeing themselves portrayed there—two such are depicted by our artist posing with the raging rapids below the Falls as background. When we look upon the two prim, self-important atoms and the three-legged monster in the foreground, we feel that truly there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous and that here it has been taken"

1895

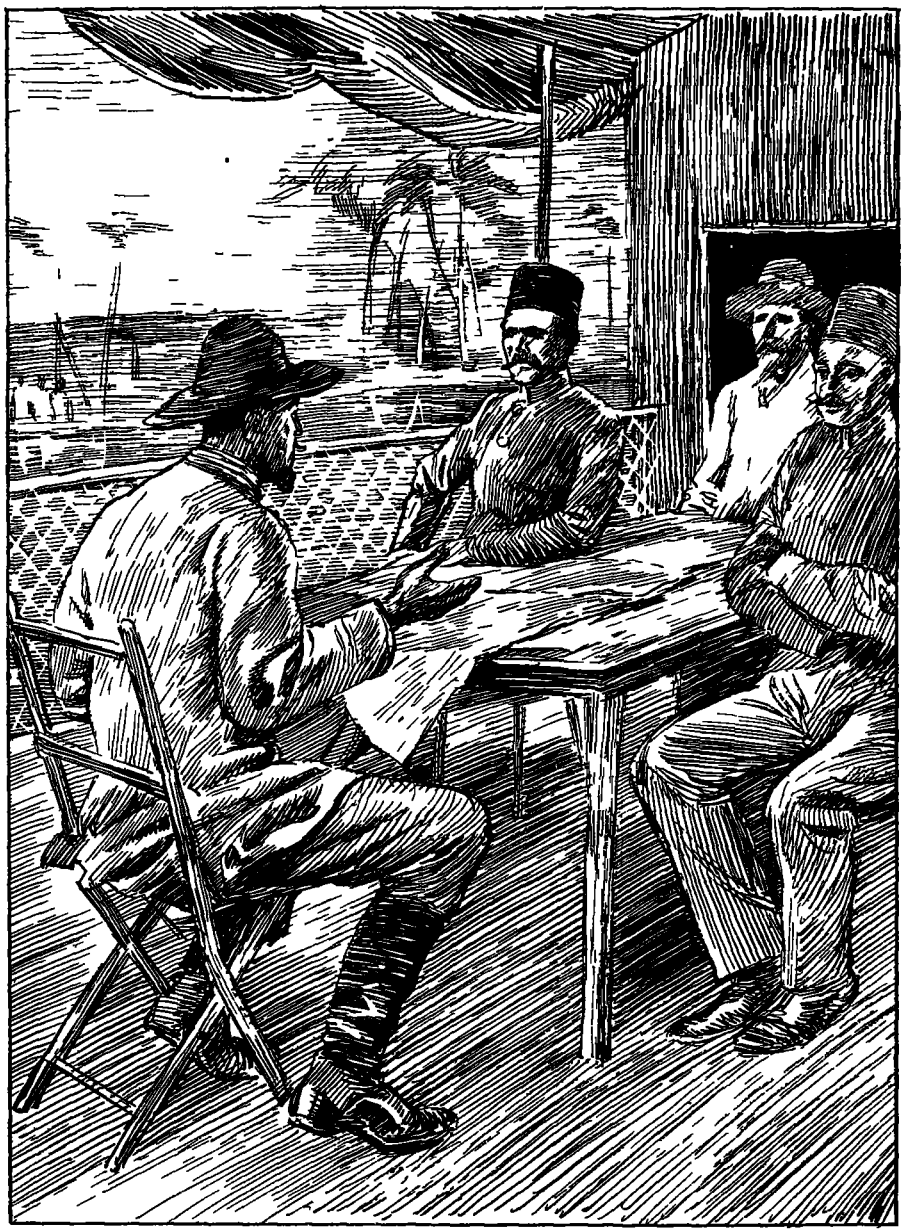


DEGRADATION OF CAPTAIN DREYFUS, for "communicating State documents to a foreign country" "At a sign from General Darras, a guardsman tore off the gold lace, the buttons, the embroidery and the red bands on the dishonoured officer's uniform. His sword was snapped in two, and cast on the ground He was then marched round the square as a last disgrace I was much struck by his dignified bearing during the shameful ordeal" (From the English artist's notes)

1906



ELEVEN YEARS AFTER. REINSTATEMENT OF MAJOR DREYFUS "Major Dreyfus, after trial, false accusation, degradation and years of suffering as a convict, and more years of trial in proving his innocence, was made a Chevalier of Honour on the spot where he suffered disgrace"



WAR AVERTED AT FASHODA The meeting on the S S Dal between Major General Sir Herbert Kitchener, Sirdar of the Egyptian army, and Major Marchand, who with French troops (later withdrawn) had occupied Fashoda in defiance of an official British notification that the Valley of the Nile between the lakes and the southern Egyptian frontier was a British sphere of influence

1882



THE BRITON ABROAD—A SKETCH BEFORE NOTRE DAME : "Since the inauguration of 'personally conducted parties,' a new species of traveller has invaded the Continent. The ubiquitous Conductor takes a detachment of seekers after knowledge completely in tow, and small armies of the most strangely-matched travellers are to be found in every town in Europe. The costumes worn are marvels of ugliness and ingenuity, and give the benighted foreigner a curious idea of British taste. Wherever he goes, the average Briton carries his insular stamp"

1885

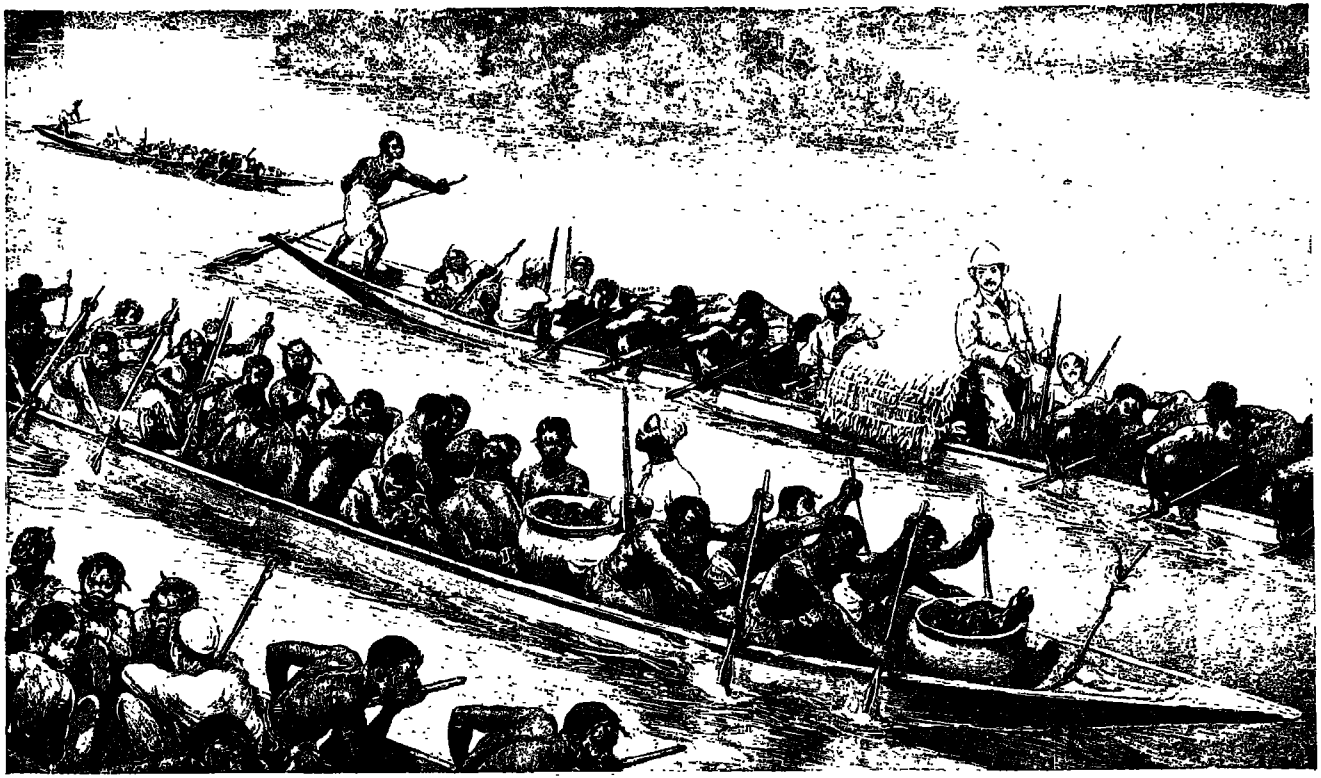


UNGENTEEL TREATMENT OF ENGLISH TOURISTS While lunching in Frankfort, four English gentlemen and a lady were approached by detectives who after comparing one of their number, a Mr Wimble, with a photograph they carried arrested the party Only at 11 p m, after the English Vice Consul had intervened, were they released, without explanation or apology"

1892



HANDCUFFED THOUGH CLEARLY A GENTLEMAN "Mr. Ferguson Purdie, who was arrested at Auteuil Races on a charge of pocket picking, has a real grievance against the French police Though clearly a gentleman, he was marched through the streets handcuffed, and it was four days before the Embassy could effect his release No explanation is forthcoming"



BOILED SLAVES IN THE CONGO : " Mr. Peters, a trader from the Orange Free State, was canoeing down the Bolumbo when he and his men heard, in the stillness of the Congo night, approaching sounds from slave-laden canoes. Putting out into the river stealthily, Mr. Peters and his party surprised and fired on the slave-traders. A bullet pierced one of the canoes, which sank. Three remaining canoes were seized, and some of the slave-traders were shot. Mr. Peters found abundance of human flesh in each canoe, the cooking pots being full of legs, arms, and hands, some boiled, some boiling, other pieces roasted and dry. As figure-head, one canoe bore on a stick a dead man's jaw bones "

THE RISE OF SPORT

It is fifty years since Ouida's dandy jumped into a rowing eight and stroked it to victory, largely because he rowed faster than the rest of the crew. Young men behind counters, as well as old Blues behind club windows, laughed at the woman novelist's hero. Their ability to do so was a sign of the new athleticism, which within the space of ten years ran across the land with the quickness of a gorse fire.

Sport for adults, until the later 1860's, had been a preserve for Corinthians, and for the raffish prize-fighters, jockeys, runners and whatnot who traded upon this male aristocracy's adventures outside "high life." Beyond that circle there had been only country games and wrestling, the cricket of village greens, the croquet of vicarage lawns, and gentle, genteel archery. Nor was the nation's physique softer because seven-eighths of it was without organised games before the middle-class capture of schools and universities. Meanwhile, middle-class wealth, and the standards it introduced, broke down the barriers from sport as from so much else; and the school habit of games was rapidly passed along the line of class-sections that raced on, like Rugby forwards, to the touchline of power. The aristocracy began by sneering at what it regarded as pretentiousness in sport, and ended by being centre-forward in the national rush to "play the game."

Football entered the 'seventies as a rough, rudimentary affair, developed with widely varying rules and varying numbers a side. The football at Rugby School was still a courageous violence when Blackheath and the Harlequins adopted it. Intentional kicking at opponents' legs was not forbidden at Rugby until 1877. The first England *v.* Scotland rugger match, arranged in 1872, was played twenty a side; and "before one of the Scottish backs could take his drop kick he was charged and sent spinning backwards by a strong English forward." As late as 1881 its many dozen of casualties provoked agitation. The Mayor of Southampton appealed to heads of schools and families "to prevent the game of football from being played according to Association, Rugby Union, and other rules of a dangerous character" (an old agitation—in 1457 a Scottish Parliament had decreed that "Fute-ball be utterly cryit doune and nocht usit"). Nevertheless, hundreds of well-supported clubs were formed before the 'nineties. International rugger matches between England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales quickly grew popular. Association football, whose players were described by one rugger international as "ballet dancers," widened from Charterhouse and other schools to include "the masses," who first played it furiously and then let it become a preserve for professionals to such a point that it turned them into crowds of spectators, and rivalled horse-racing as a medium for working-class gambling.

English football went all over the world before the century's end (the more

violent American variety was a blend of early Association with the Rugger introduced from Canada), but the lovely, leisurely game of cricket, which needs years of assimilation before its finer points are understood, has stayed in England and the places settled by Englishmen since it began. There were, and still are, a few clubs in the United States; but except in British Columbia, cricket in North America remains as restricted a pastime as real tennis in Great Britain It is an odd fact, which I do not attempt to explain, that whereas no other white race has taken to cricket, it has been adopted by browns, blacks and yellows in Africa, India, Malaya, the West Indies and the Treaty Ports of China

The village greens, even more than the schools and universities, had fostered it since the 18th century. Old Boys played for the local squire's team, or for ancient clubs like I. Zingari and the Free Foresters County matches did not begin until 1872, and then their fixtures were not classified for eighteen years It was the Australians who gave the game its great encouragement. A visiting team under Dr. Gregory startled England with its talent It roundly beat the M C C, including the great W. G Grace; beat them, moreover, in four and a half hours, and dismissed them for 33 and 19, the demon Spofforth taking 6 wickets for 4 runs. This success was thought to be a flash in the pan, but the shock of defeat by unknowns (the Australians had been so little regarded that the stands at Lords were half empty) acted as an irritant. England should collect the perfect team, and next time the Colonials came, theirs should be the trouncing W. G. Grace led his picked men, including his two brothers, on to the Oval ground for the first Test Match in the September of 1880 Australia lost, but were not trounced; they lost with honour, by five wickets, and went home well respected, after a tour in which they had beaten a dozen local clubs that played eighteen men against the invaders' eleven or twelve. They returned to the Oval two years after, and this time they won by seven runs in a game that made legend and cricket history; a game to which each five minutes of the last half-hour gave a sharp thrill The match made Australia better known to England in general than anything in her earlier history; while as for Spofforth, who had taken 14 wickets for 90 runs, he was more glamorous to prep-schoolboys than Buffalo Bill or Ned Kelly the bush-ranger. England's prowess, said the wry jesters, was cremated; its ashes were in Botany Bay. So the mythical Ashes came into being, and England set sail, on a rising tide of excitement, to win and bring them back. Since then the Iliad of the Ashes has continued, with two year pauses between the cantos; English heroes sailing to Antipodean Troy for recapture of the abducted Urn, Australian heroes sailing to its abduction anew, while the elements of earth and sky help each in turn, and the races applaud and the recorders of sport as nearly touch the epic as they ever will (there is that in cricket which drives enthusiasts into rapt turgidity of language, and I am unashamedly among them)

One half of the ownership in cricket is Australia's Because of her provocation the English counties made it the national game Most boys in schools privileged to play a match at Lords dreamed of making four débuts there—for school, university, county and, supremely above all, for England. By the late 'eighties, an

English success against Australia had as much popular acclaim as a victory on the Nile by Sir Garnet. Wisden, Arthur Shrewsbury, R. H. Spooner, A. E. Stoddard, Lord Hawke, A. C. Maclaren, the Lilleywhites, Gilbert Jessop, C. B. Fry, F. S. Jackson, Ranjitsinjhi, Abel, Hayward and a dozen more in the dynasty, down to the plump young man called Plum Warner—these were club-room and newspaper idols for the merchant and clerk, the schoolboy and schoolmaster, the landlord and labourer. Men born in the 'nineties learned at twelve the Test Match history of a dozen years, and still remember Australians they knew from hearsay: Gregory, Noble, Albert Trott, Victor Trumper. As for W. G. Grace, the greatest cricketer of them all, he is the immortal of British sport, and will so remain even though Don Bradman far surpasses his record of scoring 75,625 runs, taking 11,092 wickets and being the most daring field at point ever known. He belonged to cricket during the thirty years when it grew to be the best-loved game; and it is a small exaggeration to say that cricket belonged to him. The dictatorial, much-bearded old man, still flogging sixes at sixty, was as much the sportsman's hero in the 1890's as was the then Prince of Wales. His fame will last for as long as England faces Australia with bats of willow.

Golf had come south with James I, but though the Scots nursed it beyond St. Andrews, Blackheath had remained its only English club for two and a half centuries. Then, in 1863, a Scottish general visiting his vicar-cousin in Devon looked upon the sand, grass and undulations of Westward Ho, and remarked, "All this was manifestly designed by an all-wise Providence for golf." The making of this seaside course promoted a boom. It developed slowly at first—as late as 1880 a man who carried golf-clubs in rural England was an oddity; maiden ladies sometimes thought him a dangerous oddity. Golf was confounded with the new game of polo, and it was surmised by strangers to it that golfers, who usually wore red coats, must be good riders (polo collected other misconstructions during the years after 1867, when the 10th Hussars introduced it from the East—the popular term for it was hockey on horseback).

Westward Ho, imitating a daring innovation at St. Andrews, laid out a special course for ladies. But (this in 1873), "whereas the male golfer goes out with seven to twelve clubs, the lady golfer carries but one club, a putter, which costs 4/6. Great and varied is the interest that arises from the skilful use of this one club." Hoylake, Sandwich, Wimbledon, and other new clubs extended golf in the 'eighties, and to Sandwich came, in 1892, the first Amateur Championship competition held outside Scotland. The game's popularity was by then a sudden mania.

The sudden popularity of lawn tennis was more than a mania; it became phenomenal in 1880, only six years after Major Wingfield took out his patent for a "new and improved court for playing the ancient game of (real) tennis." The code of rules drawn up in the next year for lawn tennis retained his court in the shape of an hour-glass, and the scoring was as for racquets. Croquet (already superseded in India and diminished in England by Badminton), took a viper to its bosom in 1875. It included lawn tennis in the programme of the All England

1883



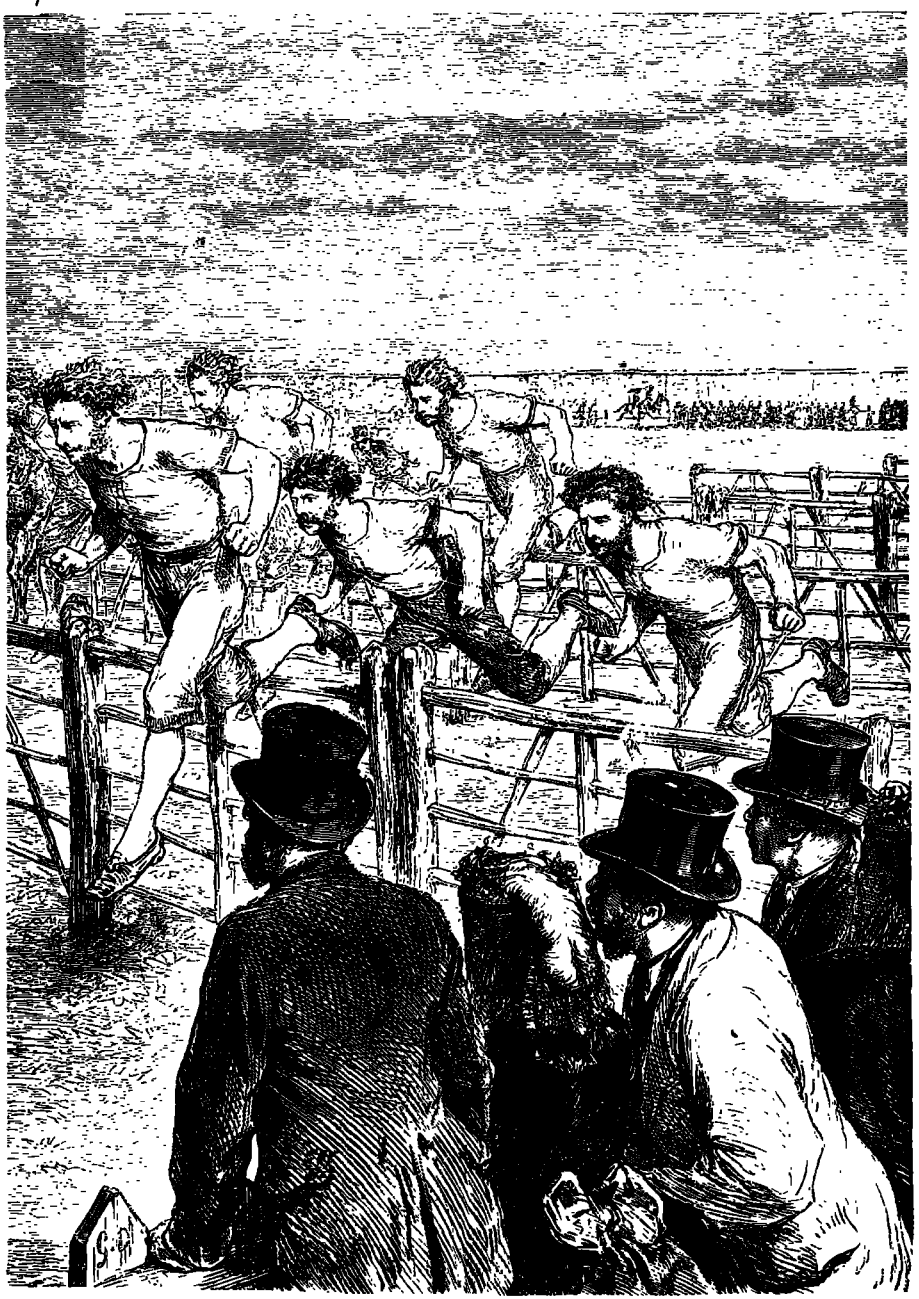
"THE PRINCE OF WALES PLAYS TENNIS at the new club at Baden-Baden with Mrs. Harris, Lord Charles Beresford and Mr. Wilson"

Croquet Club (a body founded by J. H. Walsh, first Editor of *The Field,* who presented it with his pony roller on condition that the committee made his daughter a life member). The present scoring and shape of court were introduced to tennis in 1877, when the name of the club was changed to All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club, and the first lawn tennis championship meeting was held. The service was then underhand, the racquets were pear-shaped, and it was permitted to play on both sides of the net.

Hail tennis, farewell to croquet. All England justified the club's name in tennis, and half England dropped its croquet mallets. The "tennis girl" arrived with peaked hat and bustled skirt, and captured the land. She was not the new woman, but Miss Todd and her kind, in cumbersome dresses, ran with the advance guard of mutton-chopped male champions who introduced the volley into championship play (there was an agitation over its alarming strength, and volleying became obsolete until the Brothers Renshaw brought it back). The Renshaws were spectacular enough to draw the top-hatted town in special trains to Wimbledon. Through several years they were championship attractions of a magnitude never since exceeded, and equalled only by R. F. and H. L. Doherty at the turn of the century, and the Lenglen in the nineteen-twenties.

Tennis, cricket, football, golf were the prime products of sport in the popular sense during the three decades. Polo rose with Hurlingham and Ranelagh to be the game of the cavalry elect and the socially minded. Hockey reached its heyday and kept a fairly large following. Field athletics were standardised in 1880 under the newly formed A.A.A., were fostered by the Polytechnic and Y.M.C.A movements, and reached their competitive peak with the revival of the Olympic games in 1896. The only Victorian sport not passed on as a legacy is cycling, which for many years was more an athletic adventure than a method of traction. Those who rode the iron-tyred "Boneshaker" of 1868, the "Phantom" of 1869 (hard rubber tyres), or the fearsome "Spider" high bicycle (which came in 1872, when H. R. Curtis rode 20 miles in an hour) were believed, like balloonists, to be daring exceptionals. The Pickwick Cycle Club and others doubled the number of male bicyclists each year in the 'seventies, until in 1881 cycle notes began to appear in the sporting columns. Starley's low Rover cycle displaced the high contraption in 1885, and variations of the safety-cycle made the sport possible for women. By the early 'nineties half a million new cycles were sent on the English roads each winter, and Battersea Park was a Ranelagh for lady cyclists. The bicycle-made-for-two arrived as a help to excursion and sentiment. Some doctors and rectors did their rounds on the tricycle, instead of in the pony buggy. In the new century the cycle and the tandem were later diminished, and then completely overshadowed by the internal combustion engine. Meanwhile, apart from their direct status in sport, they played an indirect part, through transport that was quick and inexpensive for reaching the centres of sport, in developing the cult of games which was a gift to the world from Victorian England and Scotland.

1871



"THE CHAMPIONSHIP MEETING AT BROMPTON: Inter-University hurdling"

1872

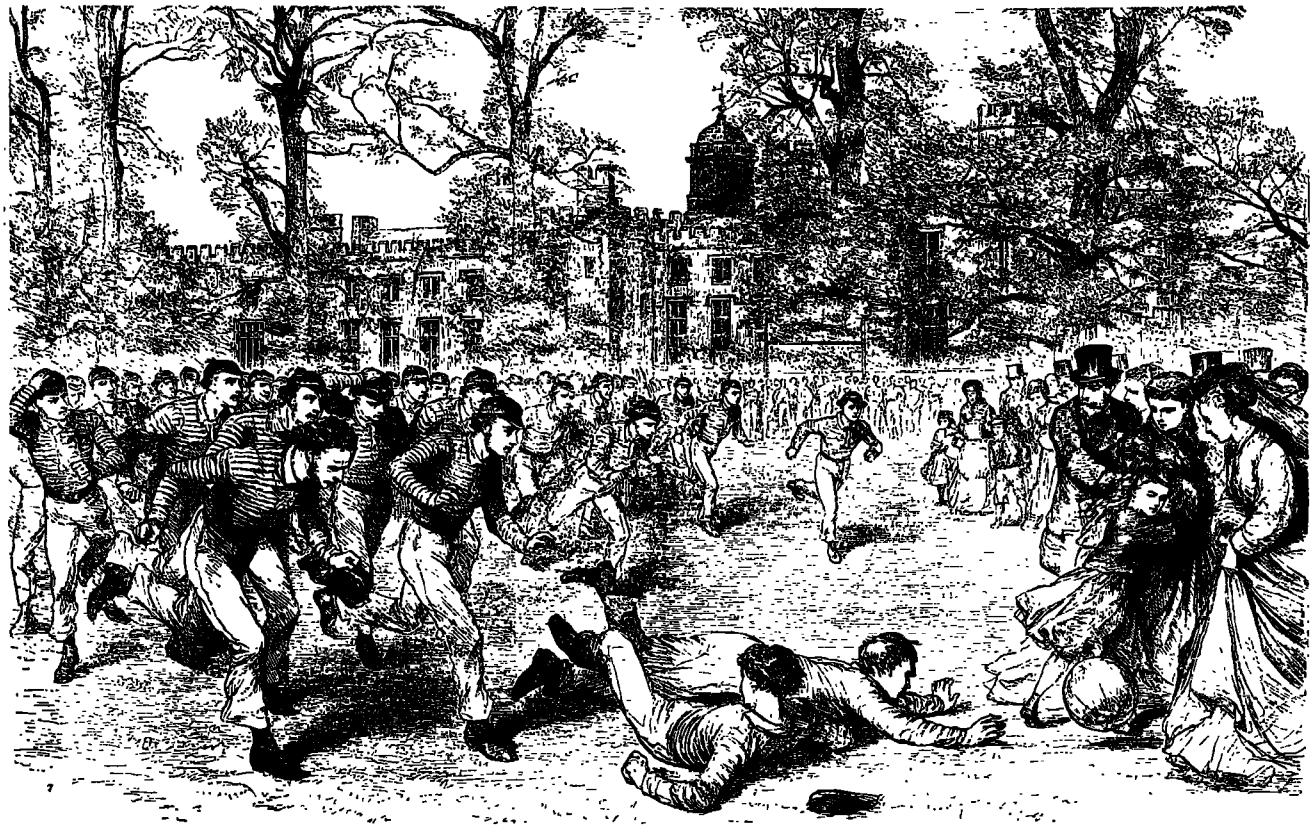


AN ENGLAND *v.* SCOTLAND RUGGER MATCH AT KENNINGTON OVAL: "In the first quarter of an hour, when the English were defending the Gasometer goal, the ball was forced through the Scottish ranks and kicked past their 'half-back' almost to the goal line, where it was caught by one of the 'backs.' Before he could take his 'drop kick' he was sent spinning by a strong English 'forward,' and the English team rushed on for the Scottish quarters"

1879



FOOTBALL IN AFGHANISTAN: "Football was recently introduced into Afghanistan at Khelat during General Roberts's occupation. The native Ghilzais were apathetic onlookers"



FOOTBALL AT RUGBY SCHOOL: "Were we desirous of showing a foreigner a peculiarly distinctive and English-looking spectacle, we could not do better than take him to Rugby on the day of the sixth match, an exciting episode of which, when the ball has got in amongst the over-eager spectators—a not unfrequent occurrence—has been rendered with great vivacity and graphic skill by our artist"

1872



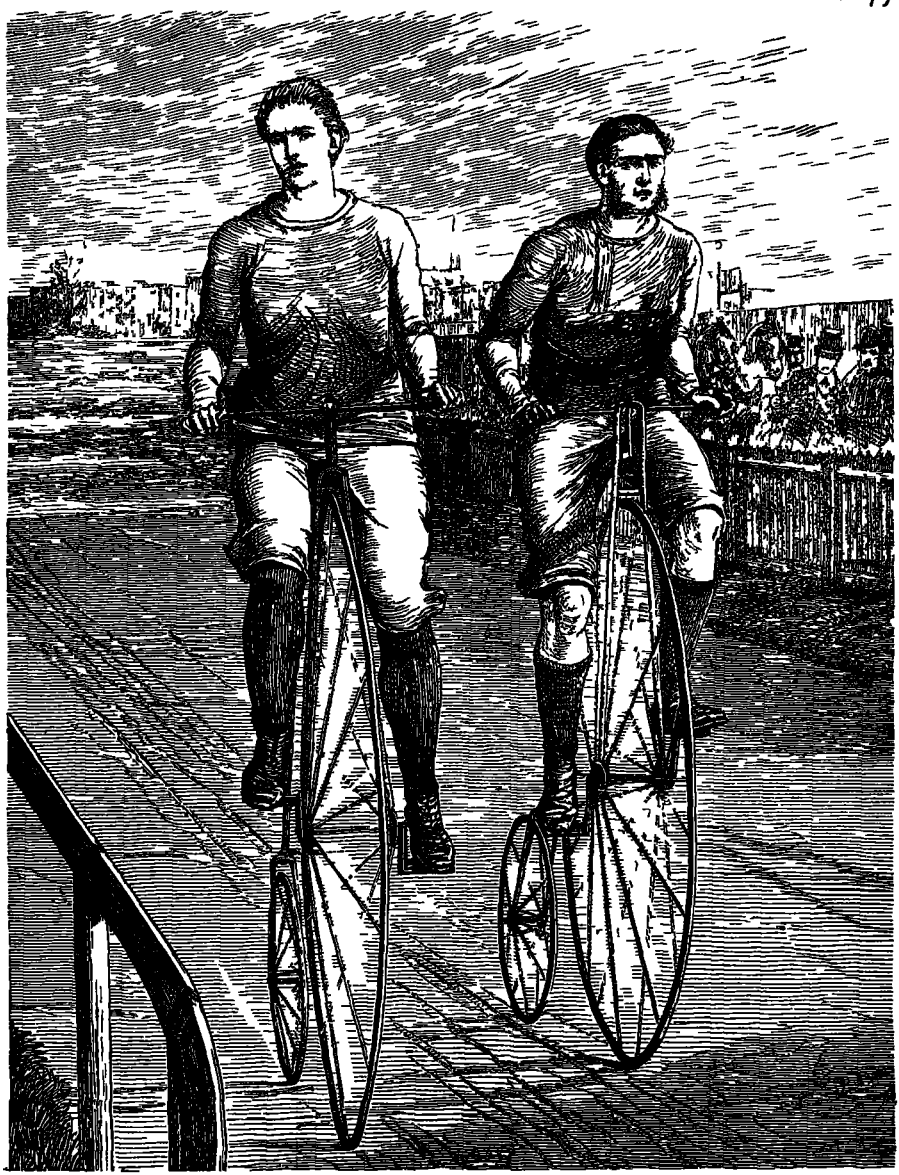
"OFFICERS OF THE 9TH LANCERS AT WOOLWICH PLAYING THE NEW GAME OF POLO This exciting game, which was at first referred to in the press as 'hockey on ponies,' was introduced into England from the East a year ago by the 10th Hussars and the 9th Lancers The rules of the game are precisely those of hockey applied to mounted players A match between two equally matched teams was played on Woolwich Common last Friday in the prescnce of thousands of spectators, including the Prince Imperial"

1870



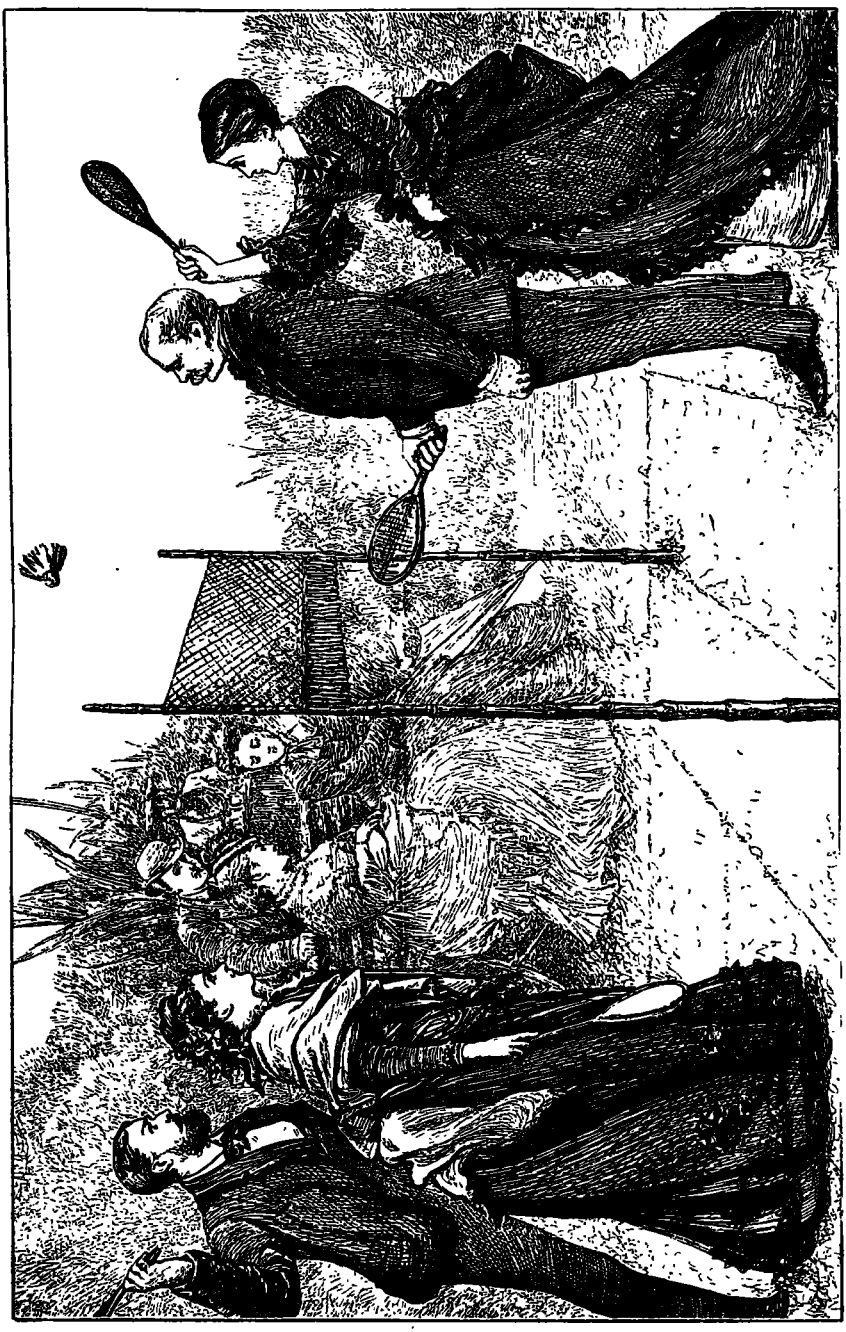
A GAME OF CROQUET "As a game to be played by the head as well as by the hands, as one that requires forethought and imagination, croquet does not come far below whist, chess and billiards Without wishing to break up the lawn parties for which croquet may be an excuse, we assure readers that nothing is better worth attention than this petted but perverted pastime"

1875



THE AMATEUR BICYCLE MATCH AT LILLIE BRIDGE "On the right hand is Mr H P Whiting, who has for more than five years been a celebrity in the bicycling world The Hon Keith-Falconer, on the left hand, hails from Trinity College, Cambridge, and is a bicyclist of great reputation . The result of the recent race, however, showed that Mr Whiting is much superior as a rider The Hon Keith Falconer, being a very tall man, rode a machine with a driving wheel of sixty inches diameter, while that ridden by Mr. Whiting measured only fifty-four inches. Both men looked in good condition, but neither gives one the idea of a well developed athlete"

1874



"THE NEW GAME OF BADMINTON IN INDIA: Croquet has been quite superseded by Badminton in India. The game is furiously played with battledores and shuttlecocks, although in windy weather the heavier weapons of racket bats and a woollen ball are substituted."



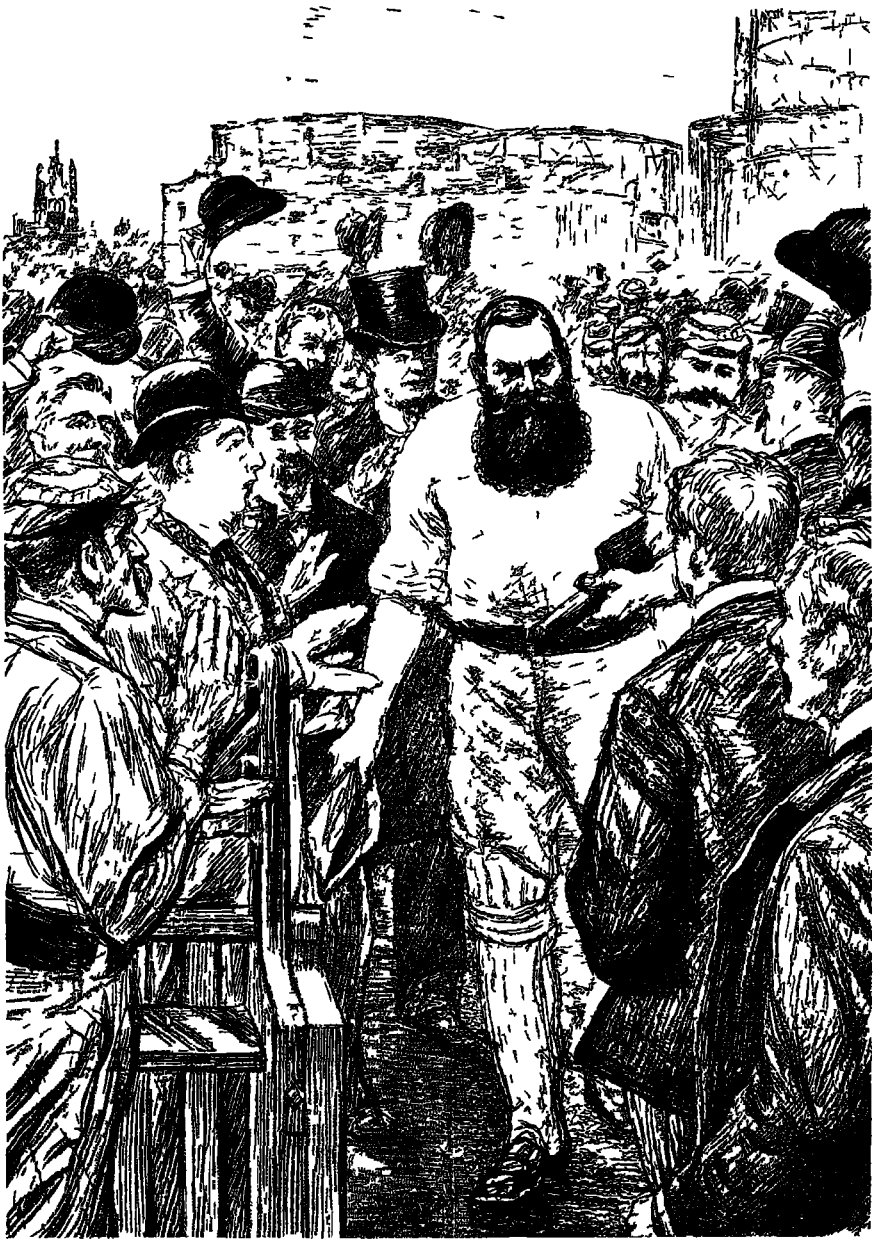
THE NEW WESTWARD HO LADIES' GOLF CLUB: "Whereas the male golfer goes out armed with from seven to twelve clubs, carried for him by a man or boy called a caddie, the golfing lady carries but one club, a putter, costing 4/6. Great and varied is the interest that arises from the skilful use of that one club by the numerous fair players who have taken to the sport at the new opened ladies' club"

1890

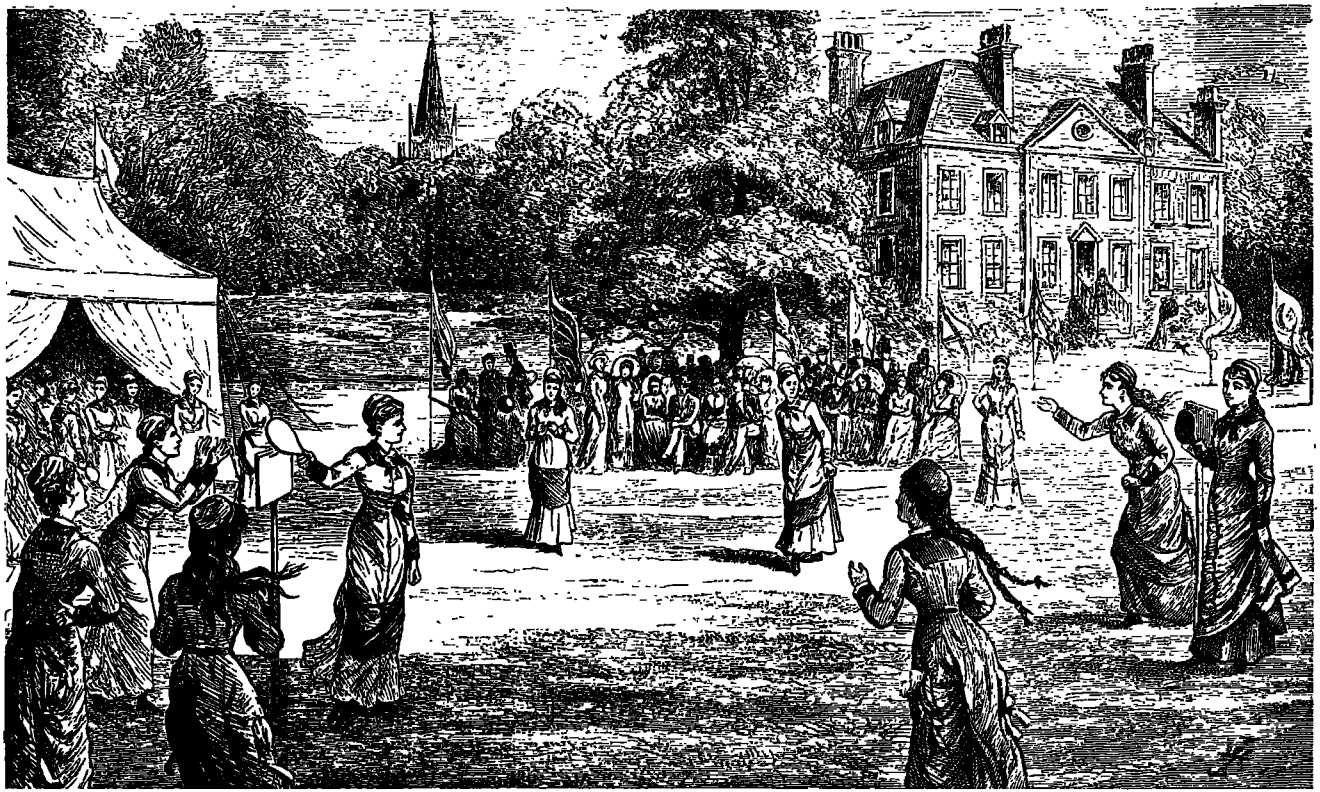


MR. A. J. BALFOUR PLAYS GOLF: "The Chief Secretary for Ireland, has in recent days been playing hard golf on the Links at Hayling Island with Lord Winchilsea, whose red coat and hose, whitish trousers, and soft hat, make him conspicuous on the shore for a long way. Mr. Balfour's tall figure is usually encased in an alpaca jacket and grey knickerbockers. He plays with doe-gloves and—like most golfers—wears spats. . . . After one golf game the Chief Secretary retired amid the shades of evening to his papers in the hotel, when a Scottish M.P. friend treated him from beneath the balcony to a serenade on the bagpipes of his favourite Highland music—'The Campbells are Coming.' The Scottish politician did not disdain to pick up the coppers thrown to him by Mr. Balfour's secretary"

1893



THE GREAT W G AT A TEST MATCH Dr W G Grace (after making a score of 63 not out) entering the Pavilion for the luncheon interval on the first day during the England *v.* Australia Match at the Oval, where England won by an innings (Hon F S. Jackson 103)



THE ANCIENT NATIONAL GAME OF STOOLBALL: "It is probable that cricket is derived from the woman's game of Stoolball, or 'juts,' now being revived by ladies' clubs composed of the principal county families in Sussex. Our illustration represents a match recently played in Horsham Park, the seat of R. H. Hurst, Esq., between the Horsham Park Eleven and the Foresters, who won by 136 runs. A large gathering of the nobility and gentry from the surrounding neighbourhood assembled to witness the progress of the exciting match"

1894



"TRAILING CLOUDS OF GLORY": A Ladies' Hockey Club at play, from the picture by Lucien Davis, exhibited at the Royal Institute

1888



LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S DOUBLES: At the South of England Tournament

1884



SOME ENGLISH LAWN TENNIS PLAYERS: Sane critics foretold, a year or two ago, that the lawn tennis vogue would soon be on the wane. These prophecies have failed of fulfilment at Wimbledon, the number of spectators this year having reached between 2,000 and 3,080 on the days of greatest interest. Our illustration is of leading lawn tennis celebrities—back: E. de S. H. Browne, Rev. J. T. Hartley (Champion 1879, 1880), C. W. Grinstead, Miss Maud Wilson (Lady Champion), H. F. Lawford (winner of Wimbledon Gold Prize this year), W. Renshaw (Champion 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884); front: E. Renshaw (winner of Gold Prize, 1882, 1883), and Miss Watson"

INTENSIVE INVENTION

WHAT was (and is) electricity? The mid-century theorists held it to be this and that in their quest after a definition adapted to a mechanistic universe which their science could explain in terms of geometry, chemistry, ballistics and magnetic attraction. In 1870 the public knew next to nothing of the invisible force concerning which Fellows of the Royal Society continued to contradict one another. It merely knew that when it went to Brighton Pier, showmen with coils upon barrows took tuppence for making it wriggle with tingling current.

It was forty years since Faraday had discovered that an electric current arose when a magnet was thrust in and out of a coil of iron wire. Thus far electric induction had given nothing to the man in the street and the woman in the home. They used the electric telegraph, but this was as often as not a portent of personal disaster—it represented to the family news of death, accident, or urgent illness, through an orange envelope to which postmen gave a ritual of urgent ringing and knocking.

A sedate civilisation, gaslit only in parts, in the age of steam and the century of invention, believed itself to be racing onward at almost excessive speed; as indeed it was by comparison with the England of forty years earlier, when the first trains were wonderments. Its many reactionaries fought to the last ditch against the idea of an electrified age. While they merely disbelieved in the future of steel ships, and only derided the Boneshaker cycles: while Paterfamilias, Lover of Horses and Pro Bono Publico contented themselves with letters to the papers protesting against the Jabberwockian road steamers and the inelegant steam trams, electricity symbolised to them a headless, menacing ghost which they must exorcise, lest it upset the harmony of the best of all possible worlds.

There was plenty of excuse for resentment by the self-satisfied. Our own age considers itself the speediest and most fluid ever; but in mechanical invention the last thirty years of the nineteenth century surpassed by far the first thirty years of the twentieth (although this century's contribution in scientific thought through biological invention is leading us to greater heights). Edwardians and Georgians have seen the introduction of the aeroplane, the dirigible airship, radio transmission and the wireless telephone (the cinematograph, like the gliders that preceded aeroplanes, appeared during the 'nineties—a film of the Queen driving to St. Paul's for the Diamond Jubilee was publicly shown). The late Victorians had to digest many more major inventions that were revolutionary in effect—electric light, electric trains and carriages, the dynamo and electric power station, the microphone, the telephone, the bicycle, the phonograph and gramophone, the motor car, steel ships, submarines, torpedoes, marine turbines, wireless telegraphy, the linotype

and monotype, the chilled-meat refrigerator, the machine-gun, the breech-loading and magazine rifles, the modern field gun, and the mobile long-distance gun. Innovations like the fountain pen, and the typewriter perfected in the 'eighties by Remington, seemed by comparison small fry. Transcending everything new and old in terms of importance to humanity were Lister's applied antiseptics, which remedied the state of things whereby every other operation in hospital brought death from gangrene, while abdominal operations could be classed among the methods of the executioner. Antiseptics and inoculation, arriving in the same decade, have saved within fifty years more lives than were destroyed in all the wars between Napoleon and Hindenburg. Yet the dear old *Lancet* (fighting as usual in the rearguard of progress) half-heartedly hit out in 1877 at the man who gave surgery its greatest benefit: "Mr. Lister has acquired the reputation of a thoughtful, painstaking surgeon, and has done some service to practical surgery by insisting on the importance of cleanliness in the treatment of wounds, although this has been done by the glorification of an idea which is neither original nor universally accepted."

Electrical invention was everywhere welcomed as long as it produced only marvels. Late in the 'seventies, a bootmaker in the Edgware Road advertised his shop by erecting outside it a huge arc light; and the crowds it drew in circus mood were so dense that traffic had to be diverted. The idea that a spectacle, and not a revolution, was being provided remained for some years after Swan and Edison separately discovered that a divided carbon thread, lit by electric current in a vacuum, would not burn itself out. The electric lamp had arrived; and Aldersgate Street Station demonstrated its practical uses before so many sightseers that police regulation was needed. His Majesty's Theatre tried the new lighting, but desisted because audiences complained of the thrumming dynamo.

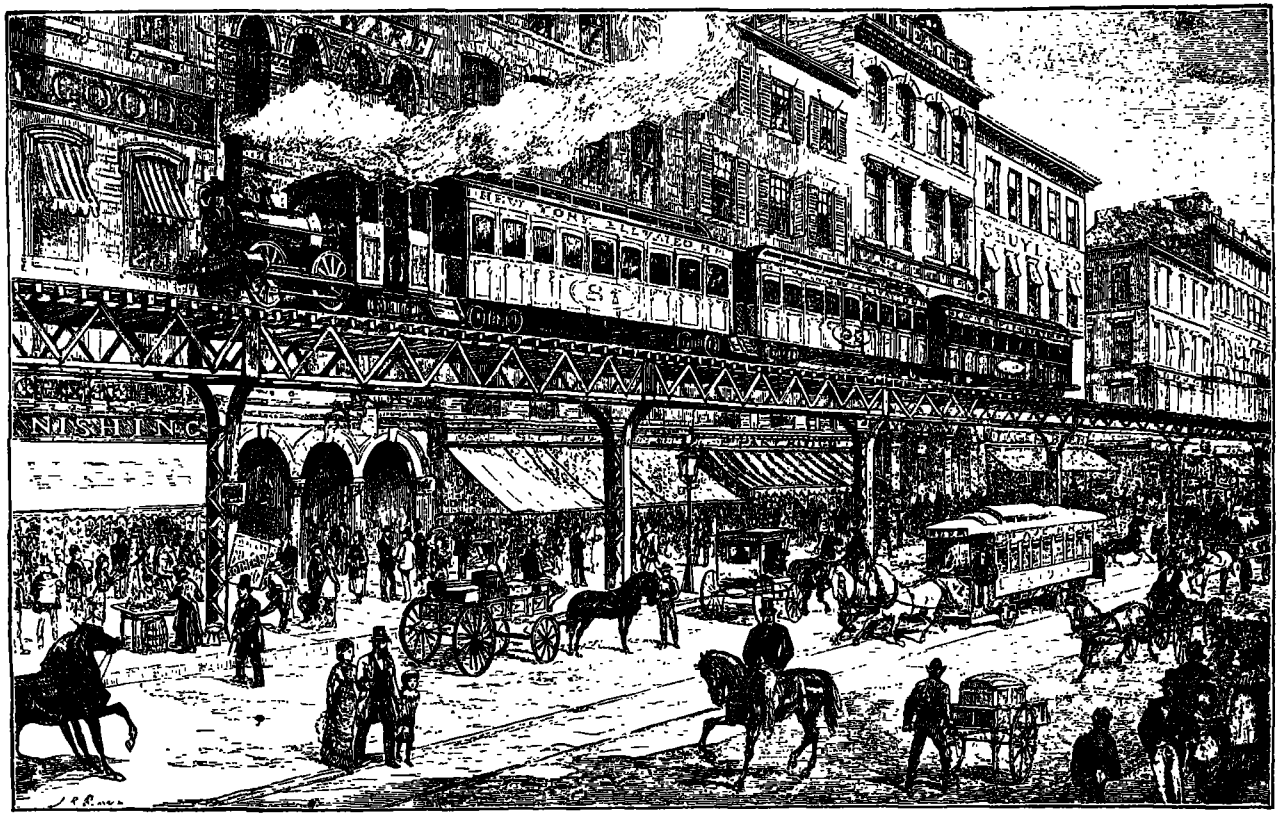
Two great country houses, Hatfield and Craigside, contested claims to be the first private residence with the new light. Lord Salisbury, in the former, had earlier tried to instal Jablokhoff arc lights in the dining-room, but lady visitors found the glare impossible for eyes and complexions. He now made his estate workmen—each new installation needed its own expensive plant—instal Edison-Swan lamps. "There were evenings," writes Lady Gwendolen Cecil in her excellent Life of her father, "when the household had to grope about in semi-darkness, illuminated only by the dim red glow such as comes from a half-extinct fire; there were others when a perilous brilliancy culminated in miniature storms of lighting ending in complete collapse. One group of lamps after another would blaze and expire in rapid succession, like stars in conflagration, till the rooms were left in pitchy blackness . . . One evening a party of guests, on entering the Long Gallery after dinner, found the carved panelling near the ceiling bursting into flames under the contact of an overheated wire. It was happily a shooting party in which young men . . . rose joyfully to the occasion, and with well-directed sofa cushions rendered the summoning of a fire engine unnecessary."

All this was in 1880. In the two following years electricity changed in public estimation from a wonderment to a god of progress that deserved fear. Padding-

ton, Charing Cross and Liverpool Street Stations adopted the lighting. The General Post Office and the House of Commons half-heartedly followed. Liverpool, Bristol and Brighton installed it in the streets. Electric companies were formed, the City of London offered its lighting to three of them as an experiment; and protest was made to *The Times* that the City was unsuitable for the experiment, because it was uninhabited at night and "only the cats and the caretakers would enjoy the fun." Following Edison's public electric supply station for New York in 1881, a similar station was built at Holborn Viaduct. A miniature electric railway was demonstrated at the Crystal Palace, after Berlin had set the example. Electric trams on live rails came into being, and stimulated inventors to prepare the safer tramway, operated by current from overhead wires, which Kansas City introduced in 1884 but London did not copy until 1891.

An electrical Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1882 promoted enterprise on the one hand and reaction on the other. It set young England to learning about volts, amperes, and how to rig up an electric bell that would startle the maids in the kitchen. It was visited by representatives from all the town corporations—Birmingham, East London, Sheffield, Godalming and others—that followed Liverpool's lead in street-lighting. It helped to promote more electricity companies; and these in their turn promoted fear of monopolies. Vested interests in gas lighting, helped by timid politicians, persuaded Mr. Gladstone's government to pass an Electric Lighting Bill that gave local authorities power to buy out private supply companies after twenty-one years. English business ardour in electricity was dampened, and America was left unchallenged at the head of electrical development. This official brake was kept clamped for six years, after which the Act was amended and electrical enterprise became profitable. New methods of storage and generation then enabled companies to provide house-to-house current. By the middle of the 'nineties, every important town in England and Scotland—and for that matter, in the United States and Western Europe—had electrical current. At the century's end electric trams and trains were abundant: the "Tuppenny Tube" had been bored underground from Marble Arch to the Bank; and bigger and better dynamos were electrifying factory plant.

The establishment of the telephone was almost as difficult. The first exchange having come to London in 1879, with lines run from the Temple to the Law Courts in Westminster, everybody from office boys to Law Lords hurried to use them. (Salisbury was again early in the field with private experiments at Hatfield, on primitive apparatus which necessitated simple phrases. I quote from Lady Gwendolen Cecil again: "Visitors were startled by hearing Lord Salisbury's voice resounding oratorically from selected spots within and without the house, as he reiterated with varying emphasis, 'Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle, the cow jumped over the moon' "). In the provinces the smaller area of towns made wiring easier. Pro Bono Publico and the rest, reinforced by many aldermen, forthwith blew off warnings about the dangers from a network of overhead wires. It was further held that the telephone might supplant the government-owned telegraph—in 1880 the Post Office assailed the Edison Telegraph Company with



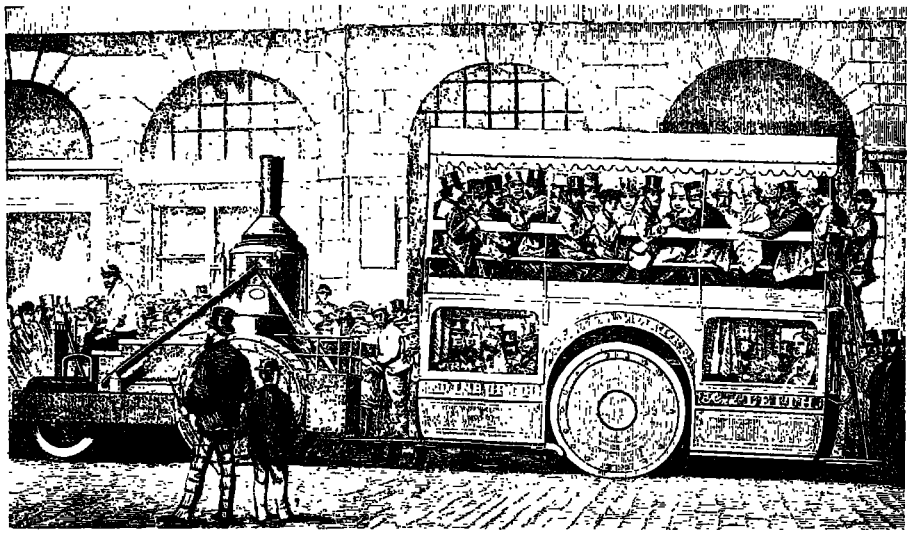
NEW YORK'S NEW ELEVATED RAILWAY: "This line has not been constructed without considerable opposition, for many people not only think it unsafe, but object to their horses being terrified by the trains overhead, and are apprehensive of the danger from falling cinders. The lines are pretty well patronised, but whether they will be allowed to develop to any extent is at present doubtful."

an action for infringement of monopoly. The invention continued diffidently for a while. The first long-distance line (from London to Brighton) was little used. The G.P.O. promoted a service of its own, and local exchanges were universally adopted; but Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham were not linked to London until 1890; and in 1900 telephone lines to the Continent were still a hope for the future.

The cause of the motor car suffered most in England from Sleepy Hollow reactionaries. A tricycle driven by an internal combustion engine, with benzoline vapour exploded by an electric spark inside its one cylinder, was built in London in 1885, when Gottlieb Daimler and others in France had already begun to use internal combustion for "horseless carriages." It was at once ruled that the new tricycles and the newer auto-carriage came under an Act of 1865, whereby vehicles dependent upon engines had been forbidden a speed of more than four miles an hour, and must be preceded by a man carrying a red flag to warn drivers of horses. England's hands were tied for ten years by this kind of crassness, while France and Germany developed the motor car. The first automobile race, between Paris and Rouen, was hardly mentioned by the English press except as a matter for ridicule. Even when the fantastic restriction was removed in 1896, early motor cars were jeered at, abused for the dust they raised and the horses they terrified, and condemned for their danger. Drivers were said to be daring fools who were certain of death if they kept to their rash hobby: and in the procession of cars from London to Brighton, to celebrate the end of the red-flag law, each of the high, blunt contraptions that broke down met hoots of laughter and dislike. As a result of all this, France was allowed to dominate the market in motor cars until well into the twentieth century.

The century ended with four more inventions, or applied discoveries, of great importance. Wireless telegraphy arrived; and England, who this time showed administrative foresight, welcomed and encouraged Marconi's system. The first wireless despatch was received across the Channel in 1899, the big wireless station at Poldhu in Cornwall was built a year later, and in 1901 it managed to exchange signals across the Atlantic. The Hon. C. A. Parsons, at about the same time, invented a completely new method of steam propulsion with his turbine motor, which was to find its way into most ships. Rontgen's experiments with so-called X-rays were altering the popular conceptions of matter, and causing speculation in medical science. Finally, though aeroplanes as now understood did not enter the century, the gliders of Langley and others forecast them. The theory of how plane surfaces behave in the air, as applied later to heavier-than-air flying machines, was evolved before Pilcher and Lilienthal killed themselves in their gliding experiments of 1899. Dirigible airships and wireless telephony were also forecast. Radio broadcasting, embryonic television and insulin are the only first-class discoveries in applied science thus far owned entirely by the twentieth century.

1870



A THOMSON ROAD STEAMER AT EDINBURGH. This steamer, with wheels bound round to a depth of five inches with an indiarubber tyre, was invented in 1868 for hauling loaded waggons above sharp inclines, "to the intense disgust of coachmen, and to the terror of nervous invalids in carriages." In 1870 it was adapted as tractor for an omnibus, "a handsome and commodious vehicle, with only two wheels, built to carry 65 passengers—20 inside and 44 out"

1881



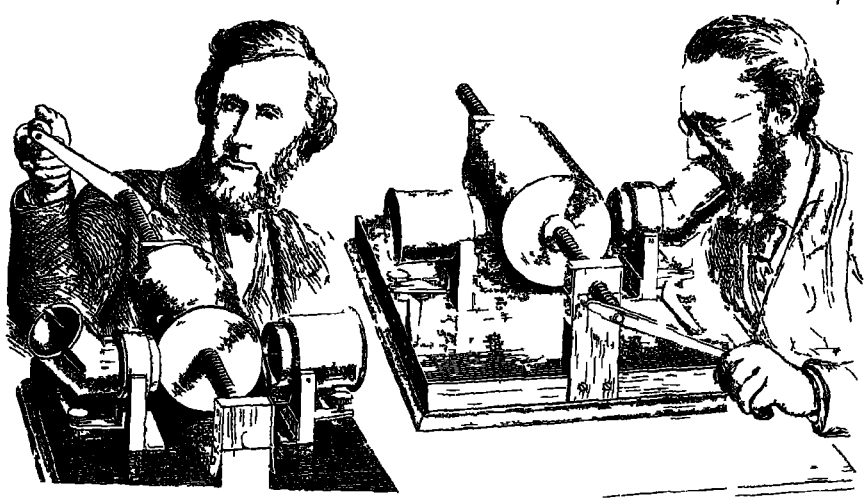
"THE NEW ELECTRIC RAILWAY: Ever since the early days of electrical science the aim has been to utilise the enormous new force. Following the construction of dynamomagnetic machines for light has come locomotion by electricity. The railway now exhibited at the Crystal Palace is circular and about 300 yards long. The engine draws three carriages, containing 18 passengers, at 10 miles per hour"

1871



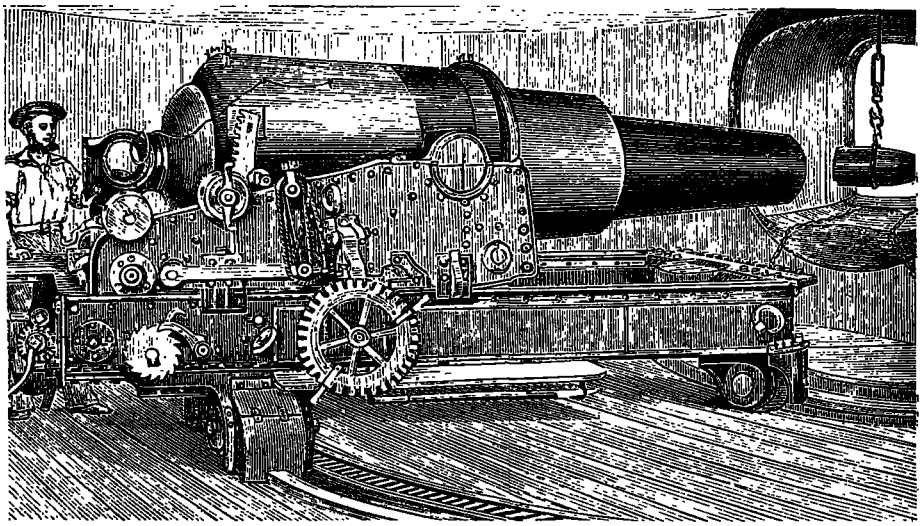
"A NEW STEAM TYPE COMPOSING MACHINE The action of Mr Mackie's machine is ruled by a perforated thick paper in a continuous strip about 2ins wide It permits compositors to set up about 12,000 types per hour, as against the earlier average of 2,000

1878



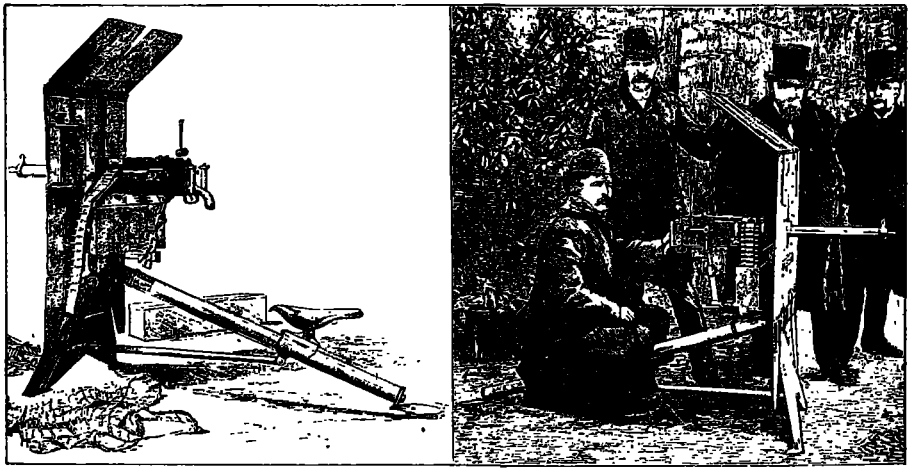
THE PHONOGRAPH COMES TO LONDON "The crowning wonder at the Royal Institute was a wooden box containing a so called 'phonograph', the first exhibited in London Professor Tyndall made his way to the table and gave the phonograph a well known quotation from the pen of Mr Tennyson, who was present, 'Come into the garden, Maud' This was afterwards echoed to the satisfaction of the audience Crowds collected, and the theatre was not cleared until the gas was turned out, a very broad hint that it was time to go"

1873



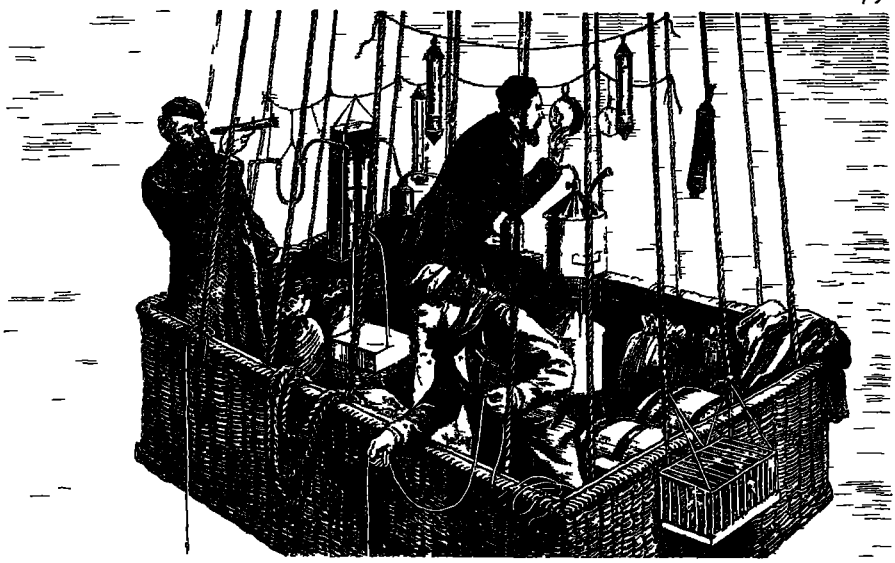
"THE NEW 12-INCH GUN OF THE HOTSPUR' with its beautiful machinery gun-carriage. By very simple but powerful mechanism, compressed into a very small space, this 25 ton gun can be readily moved upwards or downwards or sideways, and motion can be instantly arrested in any of these several directions notwithstanding the most boisterous heave of the sea"

1887



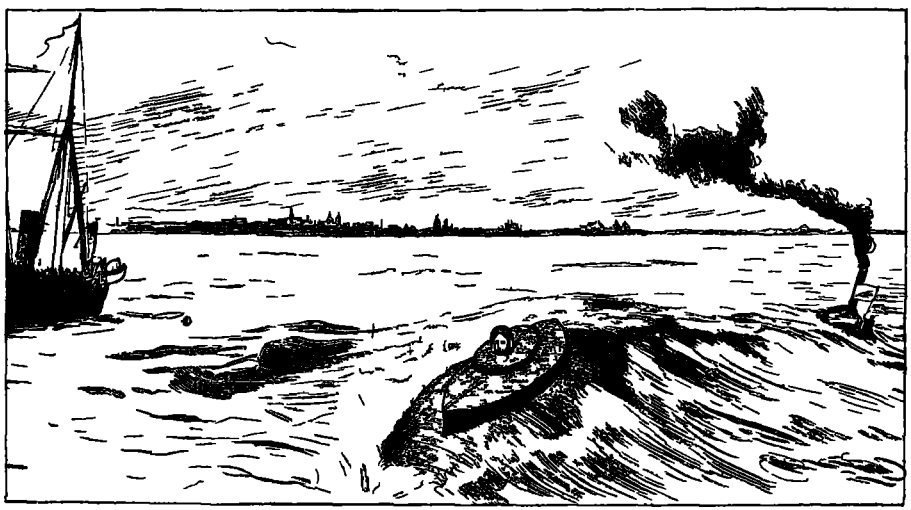
STANLEY TESTS THE NEW MAXIM GUN: "The American inventor Mr. H. Maxim has produced a new machine-gun, fitted with a tempered-steel shield as a protection against arrows. Two men can carry the whole apparatus: the gun with its pivot weighs 56 lbs., the tripod weighs another 50 lbs. Each Martini-Henry cartridge costs 1½d., and the gun will fire 666 shots in a minute. The explorer, Mr. H. M. Stanley, visited Dulwich to examine the gun, and after firing 333 shots in half a minute said 'it is a fine weapon, and will be invaluable for subduing the heathen'"

1875



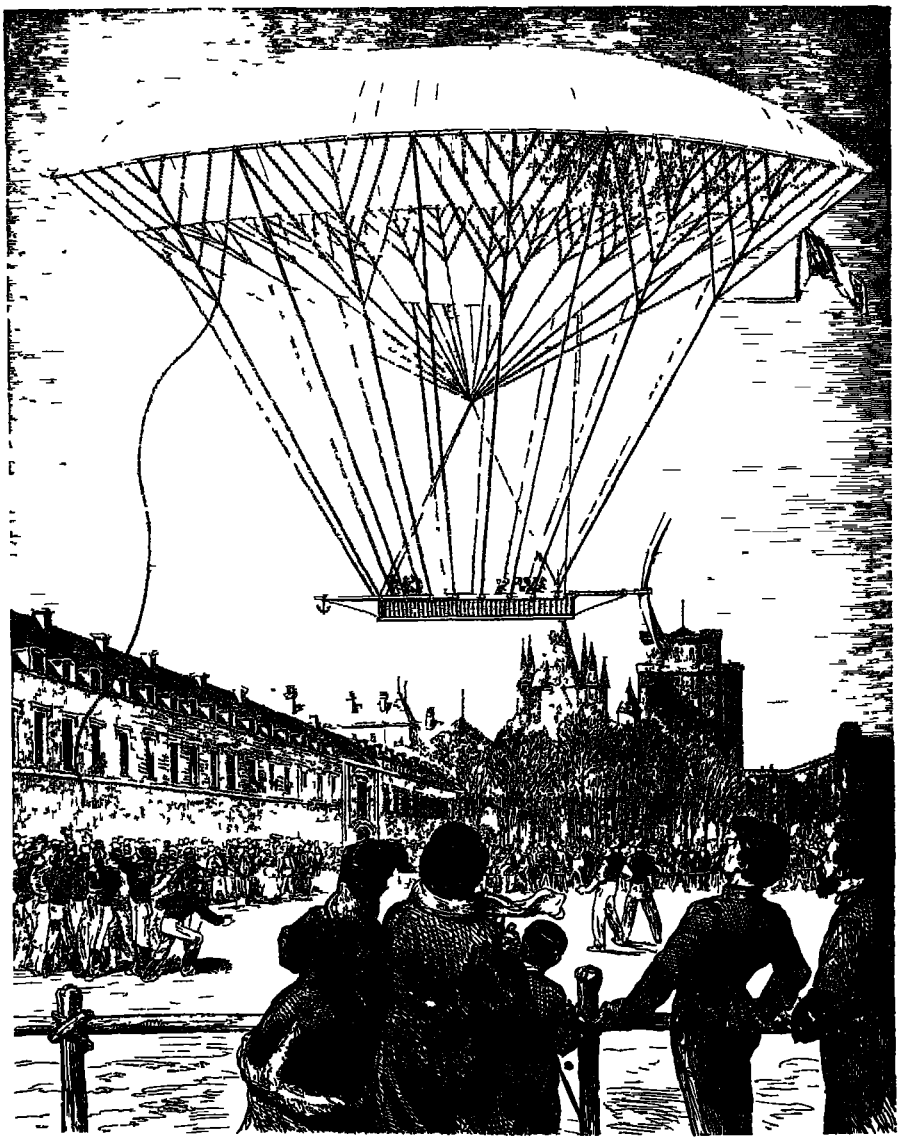
A FATAL BALLOON ASCENT IN FRANCE "Thermometers barometers, Davy lamps, respiratory apparatuses and much else was in the car of the 'Zenith,' which rose to a height of over five miles, after M Croce Spinelli had thrown out an instrument called the *Aspirateur*,' weighing 80 pounds The consequent much too rapid ascent caused the death of two of the three balloonists"

1885

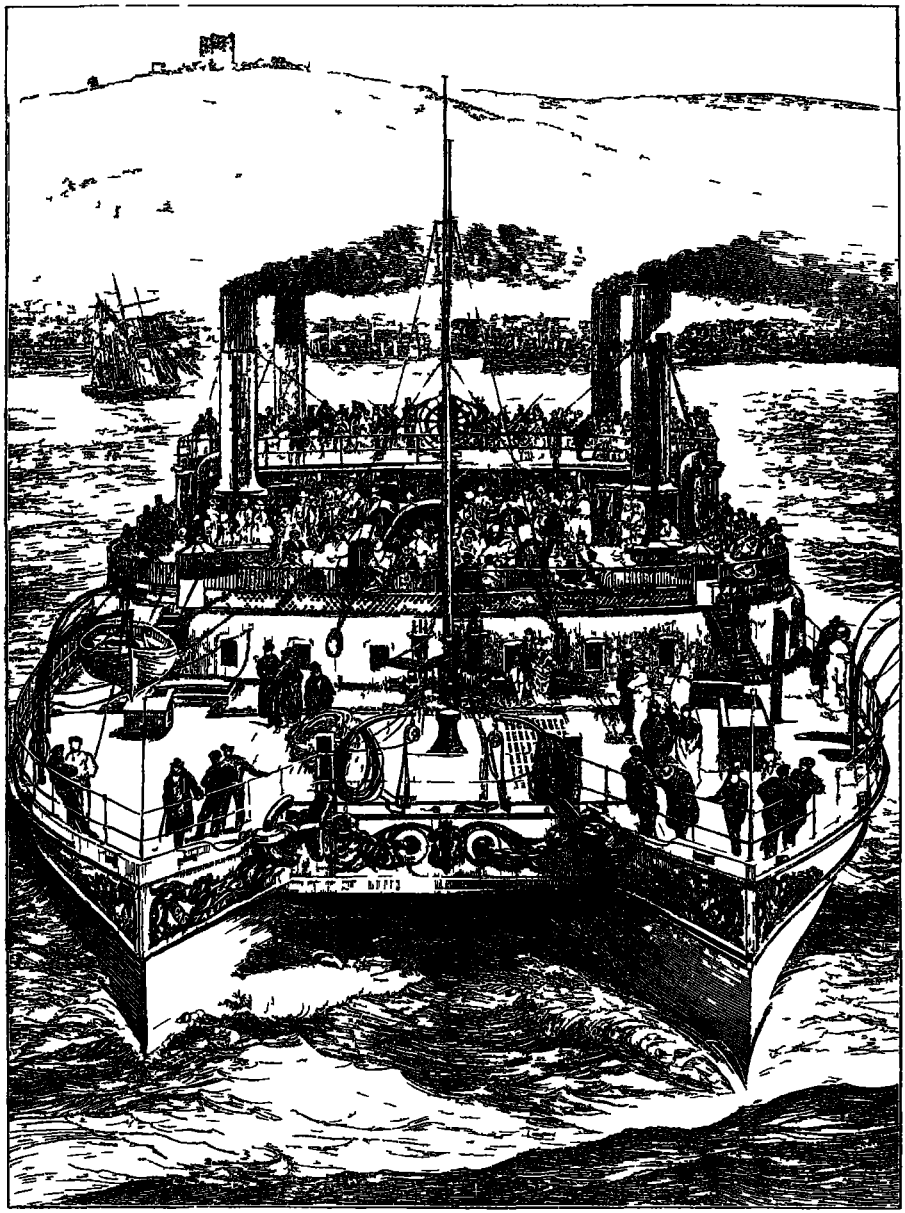


THE TRIAL OF THE NORDENFELT SUBMARINE Ever since the American Civil War blockade, naval engineers have been trying to solve the problem of submarine navigation. Mr Nordenfelt's invention appears to fulfil requirements The boat is of steel, with a glass conning tower in the centre The motive power is steam and when above water the fires can be stoked When the boat sinks the fires are sealed and reserve high pressure steam is used With this the boat was driven for five hours at 3 m p h , her speed on the surface being 8 knots'

1872

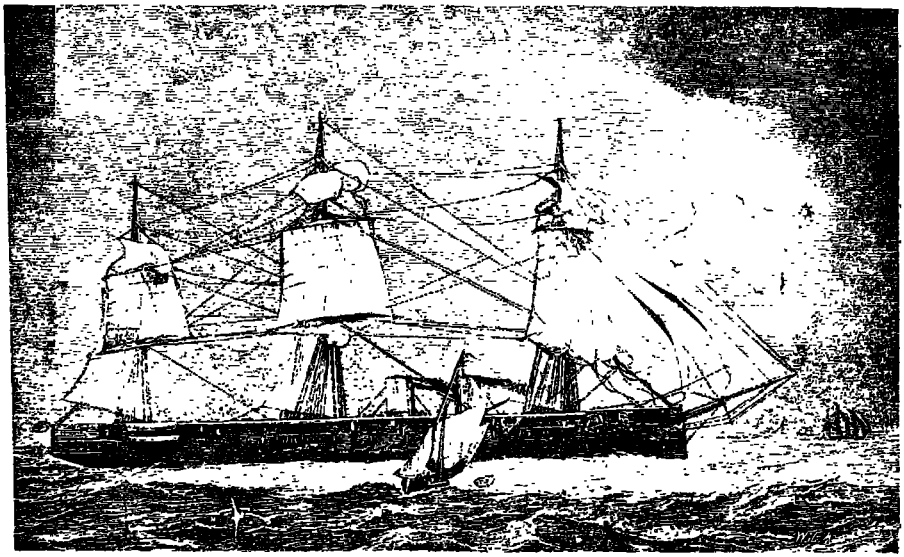


AN 8-MAN-POWER DIRIGIBLE During the Siege of Paris in 1870 an engineer named Dupuy de Lome constructed a balloon with steering powers, after many ordinary balloons had been captured by the Prussians He demonstrated it amid half a gale of wind, and the "dirigible" was allowed, by its rudder, a deviation of up to 22 degrees from the course of the air-current The propeller, turned by four men, drove the balloon five miles an hour quicker than the rate of wind. His next model, shown here flying over Paris, had an 8-man-power steam engine



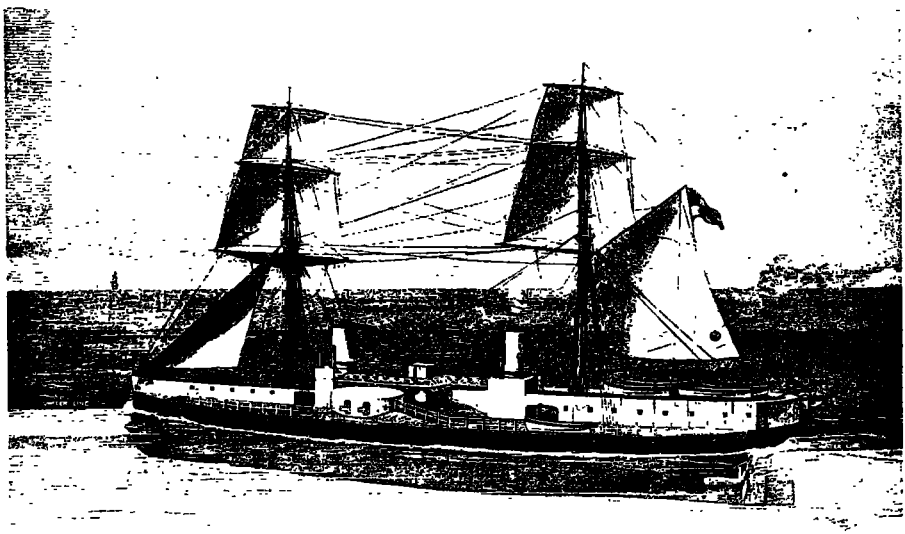
THE PUBLIC TRIAL OF CAPTAIN DICEY'S NEW TWIN CHANNEL STEAMSHIP
"The 'Castalia' is formed of two separate hulls bridged over by one deck, the space between being occupied by the paddle wheels One hull is expected to act as an outrigger to the other and thus neutralise the rolling of the waves The journey from Dover to Calais took one hour fifty minutes"

1873



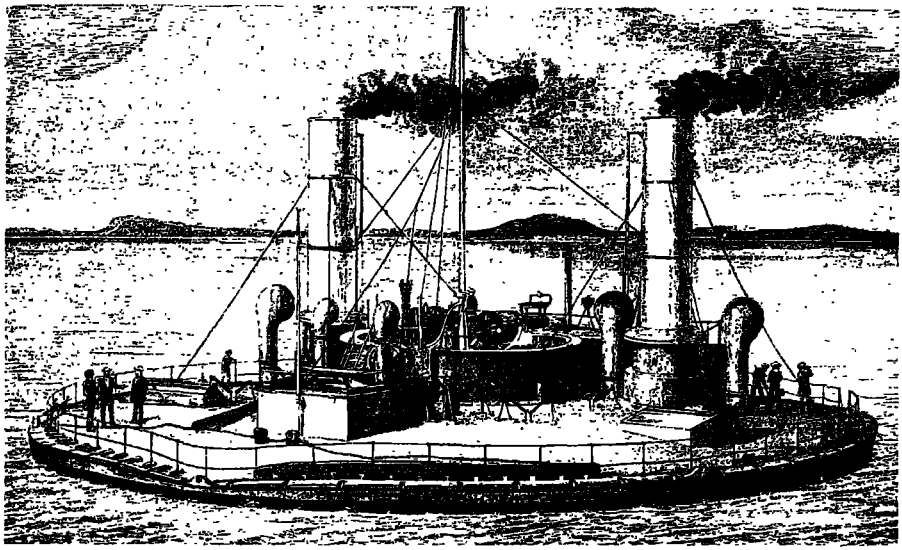
"THE NEW FAST SAILING FRIGATE THE 'SHAH' is designed to be the fastest ship in the Navy. When she is fitted with engines of 1,000 horse-power, and with steam and sail together, she will probably accomplish 18 knots. She is 337 feet in length and her breadth is 50 feet"

1876



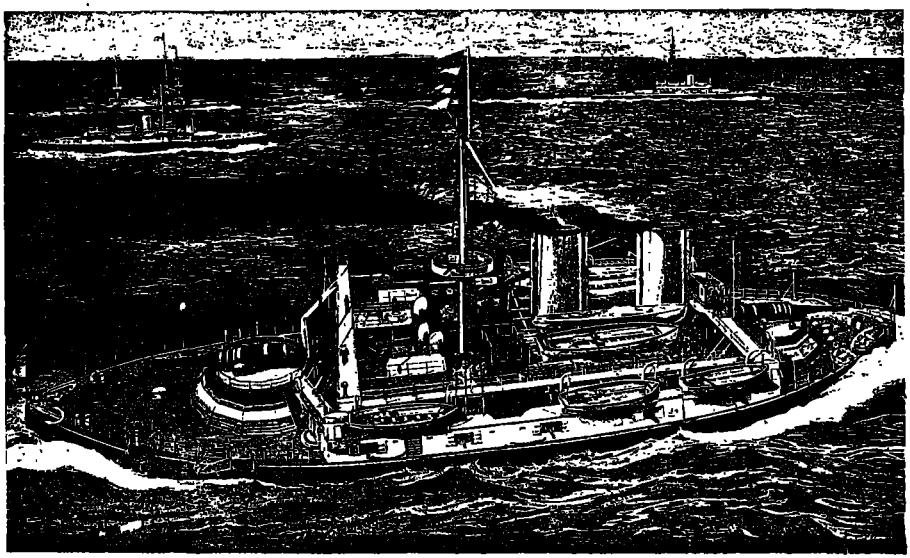
"OUR NAVY, NEW STYLE—THE 'INFLEXIBLE': This originally conceived monitor is 320 feet long, with an armour plating 16 to 24 inches, and a backing of from 17 to 25 inches thick. Her armament is four 81 ton guns. Although called an unrigged ironclad the 'Inflexible' has masts and sails, but these are more ornamental than useful, and this latest addition to our Navy depends wholly on her engines, developing 8,000 horse-power to give a speed of 14 knots"

1875



THE NEW RUSSIAN CIRCULAR IRONCLAD 'POPOFFKA NOVGOROD': "The chief advantage of the circular form (designed by Vice-Admiral A. A. Popoff) is that owing to the greater displacement in comparison with the weight of hull, it enables vessels thus built to carry heavier armour and weightier guns. The armour plates are 9 inches thick, and are 'backed' with Channel iron to the amount of two inches. The guns, two in number, are 11 inch bore"

1890



"THE DECK OF A FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP: An engraving from a photograph of H.M.S. 'Benbow,' rated at 10,000 tons and 11,500 horse-power. The photograph was taken looking down on the vessel, from a mast 120 feet high, alongside the dockyard at Malta"

1882



ELECTRIC LIGHT REACHES THE HOME "The magnificent suite of rooms of the Domestic Lighting section at the Crystal Palace Electrical Exhibition are lighted by Mr Edison's newest lamps A striking feature is a bronze bird holding the lamp in his mouth, which can be moved to any part of the room in the same manner as an oil lamp These lights can be turned on and off as easily as gas Insurance Companies have given notice to raise the already high terms of insurance to £3 13 6 per cent on account of the introduction of electric light"

1883



AT THE LONDON CENTRAL TELEPHONE OFFICE "The system whereby two persons at a distance are enabled to talk together, is operated from switchboards in so called 'Exchanges' Women are mostly employed to operate these 'slipper board' or 'peg board' exchanges, and have proved themselves capable of as high a degree of accuracy and conscientiousness as men"

1875



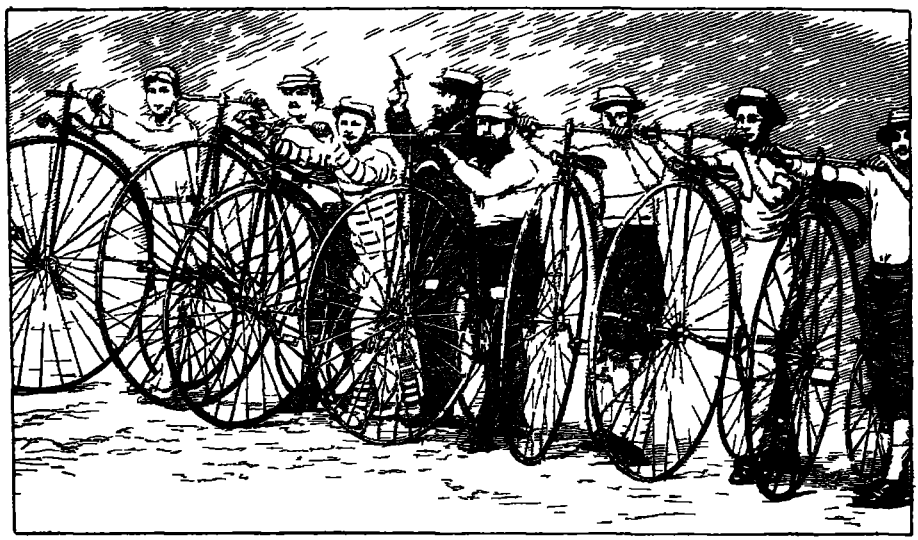
AN EXHIBITION OF PERISHABLE COFFINS AT STAFFORD HOUSE "Mr. Seymour Haden's coffins are of wicker, with their meshes filled only by mosses, willows, fragrant shrubs and evergreens. Accompanying each of them is a narrow leaden band or ribbon, pierced with name and date of death, to be passed round the chest and lower limbs, for identifying the bones"

1896



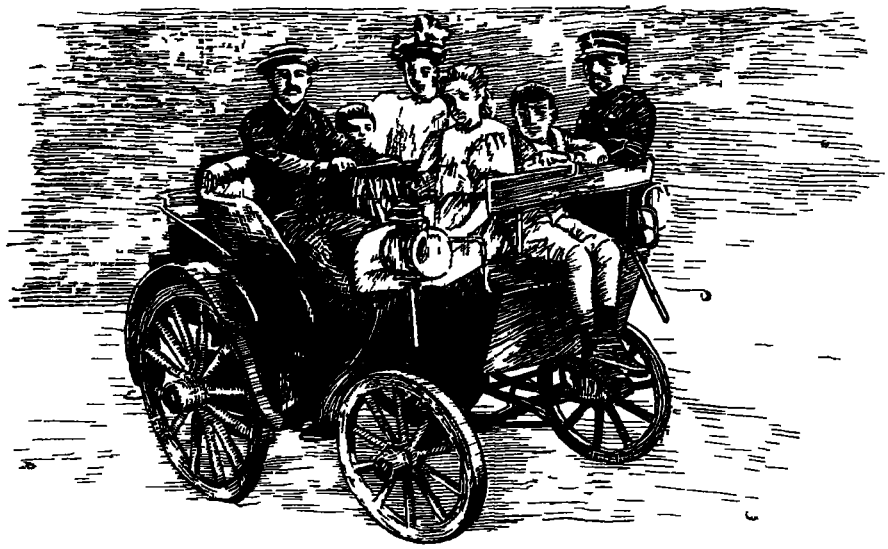
AN ARTIFICIAL FOSTER-MOTHER "The new baby-incubator in the Berlin Exhibition is a great attraction to the medical profession and to ladies The babies exhibited would not be living but for the invention. They are kept alive in warm temperatures, are nourished by drops of milk that fall into their mouths They seem not to see or hear but merely to exist"

1874



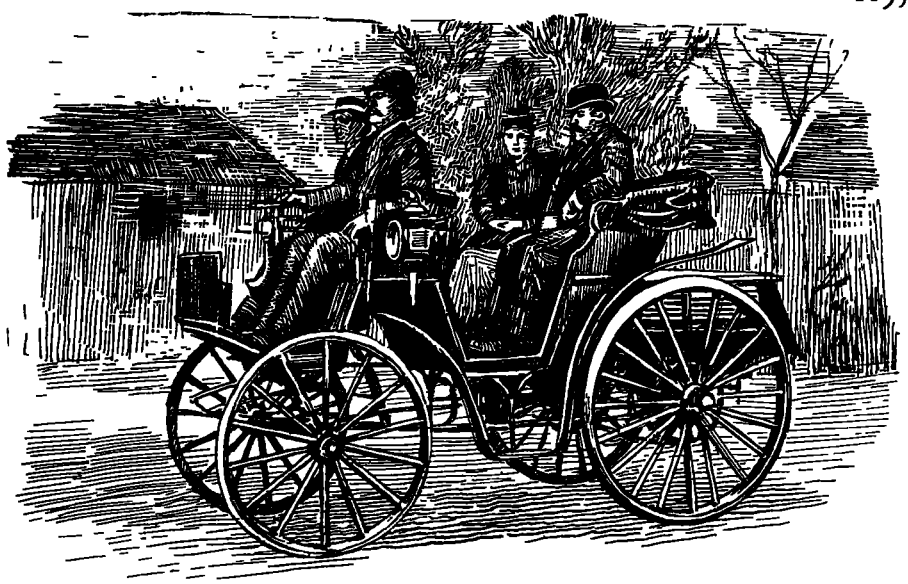
THE GREAT BICYCLING RACE FROM BATH TO LONDON This contest was for the captaincy and sub-captaincy of the Middlesex Bicycle Club There were eight competitors The time made by the winner is one hour less than the fastest stage coach on record, and is also the best bicycle travelling, the pace exceeding 10– miles an hou inclusive of stoppages"

1895



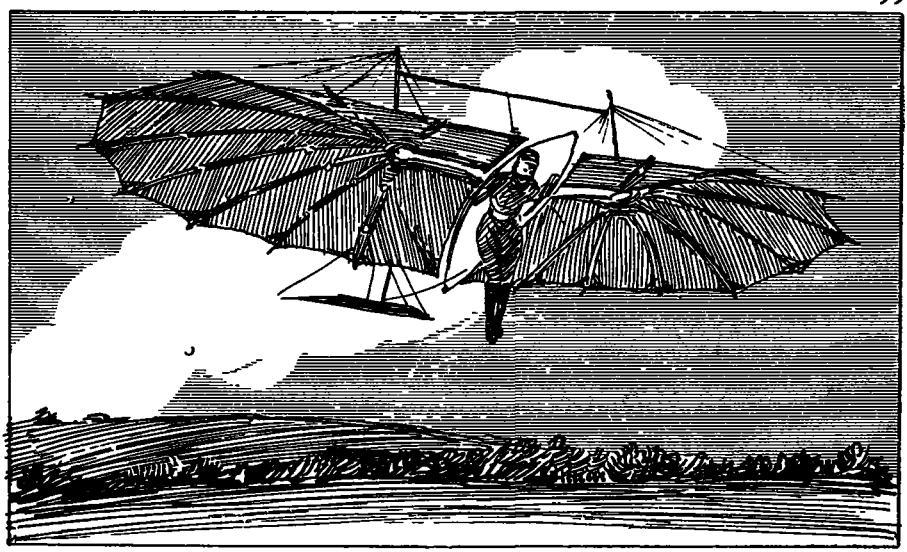
THE "MILORD" PHAETON (STEAM) "The inventors of automobiles have at last succeeded in producing in this steam-driven phaeton a horseless vehicle which is a smart turnout"

1895



A FOUR-WHEELED GIG (PETROLEUM) "This elegant vehicle can be driven at a high rate of speed—fifteen miles an hour on the flat and as much as four miles an hour uphill"

1899



PRELUDE TO THE AEROPLANE: "The principle of Mr. Pilcher's gliding machine, in which the unfortunate aeronaut recently came to grief, was that of the kite. The idea was that the wings or aeroplanes of the gliding machine would keep its body, together with the weight of the experimenter, suspended by the pressure of the velocity in a forward direction. He had gradually increased its size, and had added a 'tail' by which he hoped to be able to steer"

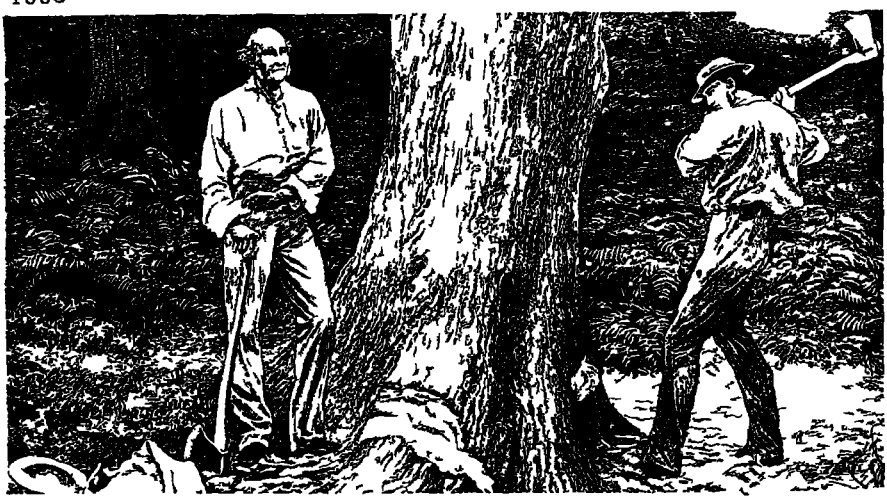
1878

A tree cutting machine invented in 1877, consisting of a steam cylinder pivoted on a cast iron bed plate, and having a long stroke which put a saw in motion The steam was supplied from a portable boiler through a flexible tube, which admitted enough steam into the cylinder to serve as a cushion for the piston Mr. Gladstone and his son, both of them cutters, watched a trial of the machine at Tulse Hill, and the former expert wood cutters made a speech in praise of it stating that the machine did as much work in one minute as a man could do in one hour



MR GLADSTONE WATCHES A MECHANICAL TREE FELLER

1880



THE WOODCUTTER OF HAWARDEN "Mr Gladstone has acquired a world wide reputation not only as Statesman but also as Woodcutter There can be little doubt that had he been born in a humbler sphere of life and settled in the American backwoods or the Australian bush, he would have held his own with the axe against all competitors, however redoubtable"

MR. GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

It is a theory (the degree of its exactitude does not matter here) that a man's mental tastes become set during his early twenties; say between twenty-one and twenty-six. The period is one in which callowness is left behind, loyalty and prejudice grow fervent, emotional contacts are vivid, attitudes are enjoyed; the time that ever seeks recapture through its songs, poems and survived friendships.

Our Bronze Age statecraft, in which the elders give counsel based on tribal balance, allots to Cabinet Ministers an average of something over sixty years. Subtract the years between, and they travel back into the mental-fixations of their early twenties—back, in the case of the oldest, to Gladstone's great period in the 'eighties. The younger ones, juniors approaching sixty, would revert to 1892 or 1893, when the Grand Old Man had his last fling at uplifting civilisation with plainsong platitude.

Let me force a parallel between then and now. Politics in the early 'nineties clung to the moral altruism of the 'eighties for longer than the social structure did. They had acquired a habit of unselfishness at the expense of the moderate citizen. Mr. Gladstone's final administration was a minority one; it derived from the largest single party, but owed its life to support from the Nationalists. Trade was bad, investments fell, unemployment rose. Despite increased income tax, shrunken revenue brought a budget deficit for 1893; and in the same year Australian credit failed. Outside Parliament there was talk of a revenue tariff, which would also give England the fiscal protection taken by France, Germany, the United States and Canada. Labour was ready with votes in return for concessions. Instead of Dominion Status for India, the problem then was Home Rule for Ireland.

I admit that the parallel could not extend. Nor do I mean to imply that British politics are modelled, in a more frantic era, on those that served when hansoms and bicycles filled the streets. But I do believe that our elder statesmen still have an outlook conditioned by the glamour which Gladstone, himself grown antiquated in affairs, kept beyond the grave after bestriding England for twenty-five years. In consequence, they do at the wrong time what their Gladstone-coloured youth tells them is right. When prosperity returned in the 'nineties, its new broom in statesmanship was the energetic realist named Joseph Chamberlain. Meanwhile, to-day's fixations in political idealism tempt one to facile reversal of a proverb—if youth but could, if age but knew.

Gladstone, half Scotsman though he was, seems from our perspective to have embodied the warp and woof of an English half-century more completely than any earlier statesman could do. He was the nation's most popular personage because his fiery sense of Mission burned into the mass-mind his personification

of middle-class rectitude, moral progress and gloriously earnest humbug Disraeli's vision was of an Imperial England—a less tyrannical Rome, the Israel that ought to have been—manœuvred into leadership through the brain and judgment given by a stooping old minister to a prim, steadfast little queen. He could stir the nation with ideas of profitable might and righteous grandeur But a people that distrusted all genius, especially its own, never stayed exalted for long by foreign glitter; always it returned by instinct by the Grand Old Moralist who was Itself in giant proportions. The Continent, when it recalls England in the 'seventies, thinks first of Disraeli. At home, the only catchword that survives is "What did Mr. Gladstone say in 1878?"

Gladstone, in 1870, was in power after winning the first election operated through Disraeli's suffrage reform of "one household, one vote," the measure which had been intended to "dish the Whigs" through Tory democracy. The Liberals replied with the yet more democratic gift (Forster's Act) of free education Mr. Gladstone's immense energy was then able to concentrate on the pacification of Ireland, a Mission he felt so strongly that he had noted in his diary: "The Almighty seems to sustain and spare me for some purpose of His own, deeply unworthy as I know myself to be. Glory be to His name!"

Disraeli, now as always, knew how to wait. He was tired and ill, and his Mary Anne was nearing death from cancer ("Being on my back, pardon the pencil . . . Grosvenor Gate has become a hospital, but a hospital with you is worth a palace with anybody else Your own D.") Between spasms he went to the Commons and, without much fire, taunted Gladstone in that Ireland, refusing to be pacified by a string of laws and the mission from a Liberal chieftain's personal Almighty, had doubled her stabbings, clubbings and arson

When Disraeli's wife died, in 1872, the nation was moved to the point of taking to its heart, for the first time, the stricken figure whose brilliance, dandyism, novel-writing, and Oriental mystery-mongering it had mistrusted through thirty years. All that was now overlaid by sympathy for a famous man whose private life had been lived in public His new popularity coincided with Gladstone's Irish failure, and the lessening of British prestige abroad through weak arbitration. Disraeli used action to forget sorrow. He prepared for an election by founding the Conservative Central Office, which organised Conservative associations in every constituency. The poll in 1874 gave him not only a majority of fifty over all other parties, but also the title of "The Chief," even from old Tories who hitherto had suspected his dazzle. Nobody was better pleased than the Queen. Beyond all others, not excepting Peel and Melbourne in far-off days, he was her favourite Premier and collaborator He humoured, stimulated, cajoled and amused her, took the same wide view in foreign affairs, and in home affairs respected her prejudices as being those of the average worthy citizen Gladstone had shown irreproachable regard for the Throne, but would not let her opinions bend his stubbornly divine afflatus No royal tears were shed when, after defeat, he told her of his resignation from Liberal leadership.

Disraeli, first of all, took more wind from the Liberal sails by "pacifying" Ireland

with a Coercion Act that was generously interpreted, and by continuing his democratic Toryism. He recognised and approved the Trades Unions, reduced working hours, sponsored the Saturday half-holiday, improved the national sanitation. But the vision of Empire would not be still. He had within him schemes for an Imperial Parliament in London, linked with Colonial autonomy and a tariff plan that was not unlike Empire Free Trade. He knew these ideas to be in advance of the time, but they stimulated his decision when, to safeguard Imperial communications, he took the big risk of buying, without Parliamentary sanction, the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal. Again letting the Imperial dream override opportunism, he agreed to the Queen's demand, at an unpropitious time, for the title of Empress of India. He had foreseen the public ridicule of his Orientalism, which came when the title was announced. "Dizzi-ben Dizzi, the Orphan of Bagdad, or How Little Ben, the Innkeeper, Changed the Sign of the Queen's Inn to the Empress Hotel Limited."

Ill, and afflicted by dreams he was too aged to fulfil, he moved as Earl of Beaconsfield from the Commons to the less exacting Lords. "Earl!" was Mr. Gladstone's comment from Hawarden, "I cannot forgive him for not having made himself a Duke!" And later, when Disraeli was suspected of a desire to annex Egypt, the other old man suggested that the Earl might wish to become Duke of Memphis.

Politics became more and more an enthralling duel between the two ancients, whose only similarity was great mental stature. Disraeli could not allow a Russian expansion on the Mediterranean, which would threaten the way to India and Australia; and Gladstone, unable to stay retired while his rival let the infidel Turk embroil England with Christian countries, launched his thunderous pamphlet against Turkish atrocities. Disraeli referred to him as "Tartuffe" and "that extraordinary mixture of envy, vindictiveness, hypocrisy and superstition . . . whether preaching or praying, speechifying or scribbling—never a gentleman."

The venom grew when Russia declared war on Turkey. The Queen tried to prod into unpopular war against Russia a Cabinet containing Lord Derby and others who wanted neutrality. Disraeli again bided his time, which came when the Russian advance was checked at Plevna, with huge slaughter. English sentiment swung round to the brave Turks; English crowds stoned Gladstone's windows. "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do . . . The Russian shall not have Constantinople." The great Jew had used national pride to cure an attack of national conscience.

Plevna fell. The Russians all but had Constantinople. Public opinion was again ready to rebound against war. Harried by divided counsel, and also by gout, asthma, bronchitis and Bright's disease, the old man took refuge in splendid bluff. Denouncing the Russo-Turkey treaty as a danger to Britain, he called up reserves, sent the Fleet in the direction of Constantinople, and staged an arrival of troops from India. Russia took fright and agreed to all Disraeli's preliminary conditions for a treaty revision by the Berlin Congress.

Disraeli, at the Congress, pleased England by playing the rôle of Mr. Standfast, browbeating the Russians and manœuvring even Bismarck into support of the

British terms. The day after his demands were conceded, he announced that Turkey had secretly given Cyprus to England. The nation went frantic with satisfaction, Mr. Gladstone was frantic with spleen. Five dukes were among the Committee that welcomed the Earl of Beaconsfield, and his "Peace with Honour," back from Berlin at Charing Cross. Mr. Gladstone, this time, was not amused when he heard that the Queen had given his rival the Order of the Garter.

A general election after the Berlin Congress would have given Disraeli and the Tories six more years in office. The sick Premier was disinclined to expend the energy; and a year later Mr. Gladstone girded up evangelistic loins for his greatest crusade. Poor harvests, a fall in trade, rash annexation of the Transvaal, and the massacre of a British mission in Afghanistan combined to bring a reaction against Imperialism. Gladstone went on the moral rampage in his Midlothian campaign. Lending his wonderful, cavernous voice to the sonorities of prophecy (reported at tremendous length in all the newspapers) he convinced England and Scotland that they had followed false gods, or rather an anti-God. The electorate of 1880, chilled by bad times but warmed by Gladstone's flaming oratory, went overwhelmingly Liberal. (In this, the last election before reform of the County franchise, Gladstone did not scruple to use "faggot votes" as a counter against Tory strength from "pocket boroughs," one of which returned Mr. Balfour with a poll of only 700. Of Gladstone's majority of 219 in Midlothian, 160 householder's votes were got by running up new houses in the Edinburgh district, with crowds cheering on the night work beneath flares.)

Disraeli retired, without rancour, to his books and memories, his doctors, his friendship with the Queen and others; and so to his serene death and primrose apotheosis. With the end of the twenty years' duel between great antagonists, politics seemed humdrum for a while.

The 1880's were left to Mr. Gladstone as his Promised Land. He had become the Grand Old Man; the Premiership was his by popular demand, despite his earlier resignation from Liberal leadership. Jericho having fallen before his blasts, he set out to build a new Jerusalem, which was to be compulsorily educated. But new swarms of Moabites, Jebusites, Philistines and the rest arrived to harry the Lord's Self-Anointed.

Joseph Chamberlain, his President of the Board of Trade (then a youngish, very energetic business man who had organised the Liberal party machine on democratic lines) was distrusted as a Radical demagogue who would end by destroying the House of Commons. Other Liberals split over the conscience of Charles Bradlaugh when that Radical atheist declined the Parliamentary oath. The Grand Old One supported an Affirmation Act to ease this troublesome conscience, but the Act was thrown out as ruthlessly as was Charles Bradlaugh himself when he cynically recanted and tried to enter the House. And on the Liberal flank a silent, portentous, obstructive figure—Parnell, now leader of the Irish Nationalists—supported the Irish Land League's boycott against landlords, and did not condemn the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which organised arson and assassination. The Gladstone ministry, within a year of taking office, was

forced by public opinion to clap into gaol Parnell and other Nationalist members, whose unarrested fellows made Parliamentary scenes that caused them to be carried shrieking out of the House.

Most impudent of all in annoying the Colossus on the Treasury Bench was Randolph Churchill's youthful Fourth Party, flying far beyond the inept Conservative opposition in the Commons, thrusting gadfly stings wherever they would hurt most. No amount of Gladstonian denunciation could hinder this Tory Left Wing. Lord Randolph had a devilish talent for "drawing" Gladstone, whether on Irish Coercion, the Bradlaugh affair, foreign imbroglios, or measures of reform like the Employers' Liability Bill or the Franchise and Redistribution Bills.

It was foreign affairs, always Mr. Gladstone's bugbear, that bent his infallibility. He prosecuted with eloquence and energy any policy which he had at heart, and his prestige was so great that policy derived from his personal inclinations. Since the Irish troubles interested him profoundly, he devoted to them a watchful finesse. A settlement of sorts might have been reached following the understanding that preceded Parnell's release from prison; and nobody could have been firmer when the chances of settlement were ruined by the assassination in Phœnix Park of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. But through his half-heartedness over most foreign problems that had no relation to Turkish atrocities, he permitted England to drift into disaster abroad. The Grand Old Fulminator had more personal interest in appointments to bishoprics than in the Transvaal, which provided the first of many irritants from overseas. The Boers would have none of his South African Federation, and a burgher army defeated the British at Majuba Hill. Liberals were relieved when President Kruger signed the Convention which gave England a nominal suzerainty; but the nation in general was left with a heretic doubt as to whether its high priest was as nearly immaculate as electors had thought.

Next, Egypt, where Wolseley's defeat of Arabi Pasha thrilled the country, and inspired even Gladstone, since Christians had been saved from massacre. So far, so good; like Disraeli, he had brought peace with honour. His disinterest in Egypt as a country then led to damaging irresolution. Wolseley's army was to have been withdrawn, when Liberals revived Gladstone's missionary zeal with highly coloured reports of the slave trade between Upper Egypt and the Soudan. The newly arisen Mahdi reinforced the slavery motive by destroying Hicks Pasha's Egyptian force in the Soudan. Public outcry clamoured for suppression of slavery and the Mahdi; and under the banner of humanitarianism Mr. Gladstone entered upon a Disraelian adventure.

He did not advance it with anything like Disraelian resolution. It was against the advice of the British Agent in Cairo that, prodded by the press, he sent General Gordon to Khartoum. Gordon's own vacillations between withdrawal from the Soudan and an intention to "smash the Mahdi" were forgotten when the country suddenly realised the grave peril to a national hero; realised, moreover, that though Wolseley and the War Office had been preparing for a campaign, the Prime Minister had waited until it was too late to recall Gordon, and possibly

too late to save him. England was breathless, Gladstone's Ireland was forgotten, while Wolseley's difficult expedition moved up the Nile. The whole nation was furious when it had the news of Gordon's death, two days before British steamers sighted Khartoum. The Queen's unciphered telegram of rebuke to the government expressed what millions were feeling. A vote of censure, supported by all Conservatives and many Liberals, was defeated by only fourteen votes. Tories spread word that Gladstone was the Terrible Old Man who would ruin the Empire; and the nation, disliking the increase of income tax to the frightening figure of eightpence in the pound, so as to pay for the Soudan war, was inclined to think they were right.

The Ministry survived long enough for Gladstone to regain prestige by standing firm against Russian aggression in Afghanistan. Under cover of this new threat of war he quietly withdrew from the Soudan. Then, deliberately permitting a defeat in the House of Commons on an amendment to the Budget, he resigned. This party move threw upon Lord Salisbury's "Cabinet of Caretakers" the onus of grappling, while the new County franchise was being prepared, with distress and unemployment, and with Irish dynamite outrages. The Fourth Party came into its own, when places in the ministry were found for Randolph Churchill, Michael Hicks-Beach and Arthur Balfour.

Gladstone's personality was still potent enough to give him a majority over Lord Salisbury's Conservatives; but Parnell's Nationalist vote held the balance. Gladstone, Premier for the third time, again nailed to the Liberal masthead his personal obsession for Home Rule; and on this the Liberals split. Chamberlain, Lord Hartington and John Bright combined with Conservatives to reject his Bill. Gladstone, amid violent embitterments, sprang an unwanted election upon the country, which showed its resentment by making the Conservatives the strongest single party, with Chamberlain and seventy-four "Liberal Unionists" hesitant on their flank. Bargainings behind closed doors, and over the cigars after dinner (it was thought remarkable that Birmingham Radicals should be invited to dine with Tory dukes) prepared the ground for the entry of Goschen, a Liberal Unionist, into Lord Salisbury's Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer when Randolph Churchill resigned this office in a fit of pique. With a Prime Minister in the Lords, the Commons were led by W. H. Smith (former head of the big firm of newsagents) as First Lord of the Treasury—"Old Morality," whose sterling characteristics were everywhere respected.

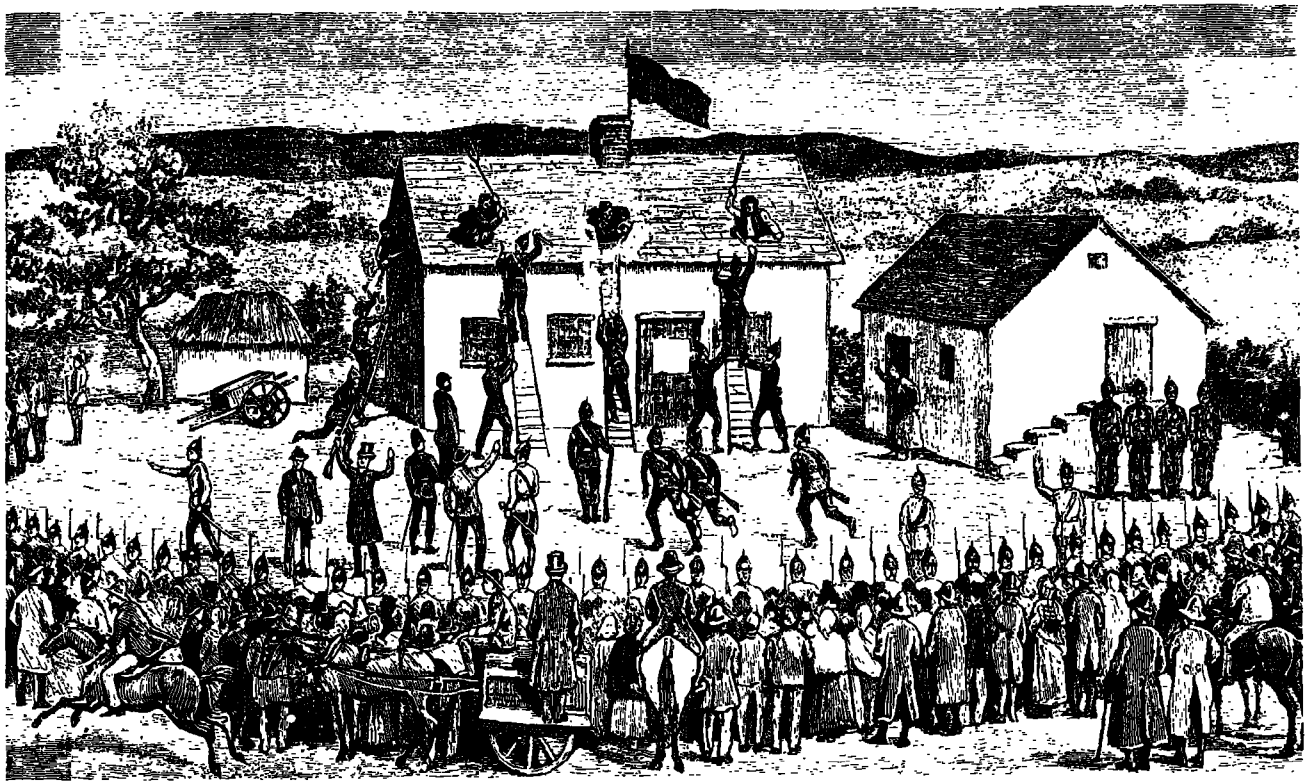
Gladstone, aged seventy-six, stayed in politics only because of the Irish Mission from his Lord. Meanwhile Ireland was given a new Coercion Bill, firmly administered by "Bloody Balfour" as Chief Secretary. The Conservative Government drew tactical advantage from the publication by *The Times* of letters pretending to show that Parnell had approved one of the Phœnix Park murders. The Commission of Judges before whom the matter was examined sat so long that the final dramatic proof of forgery of the letters reinstated Parnell too late. Not long after, the English conscience removed him from effective influence when he was named co-respondent in the O'Shea divorce suit.

A novel element and agitation had now entered politics. Unemployed riots had been followed by a strong Labour movement, to which Salisbury, influenced by Randolph Churchill and Chamberlain, played up by fostering Factory Acts; but his manner remained that of the seigneur conferring a boon instead of a right, and working men felt that Tories were Tories for all that. By backing up a Liberal programme that flirted with an eight-hour day, they made possible the return of Gladstone in the elections of 1892. They also managed to elect Keir Hardie and John Burns as the first purely Labour members.

At eighty-two Mr. Gladstone still had surprising vigour—some opponents attributed it to demoniac possession. But the nation, including the Liberal part of it, was becoming bored by Home Rule (much of it, in the early 'nineties of the golf craze and Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay, was also bored by politics). Though the second Home Rule Bill passed to order in the House of Commons, the House of Lords, heartened by Ulster's violent protest against separation, threw it out neck and crop. Little enthusiasm met Gladstone's attempt to stir up indignation with the Lords (including sixty-eight peers of his own creation) who had thwarted him; and Home Rule was left prostrate for ten years. The Grand Old 'Un kept election pledges by introducing the Employers Liability and Parish Council Bills; and then ended fifty years of public service. He slipped quietly out of the House, and handed his resignation to the Queen. She showed a few seconds of emotion, but recovered and—in Gladstone's own words—"thanked me for a service of no great merit, in the matter of the Duke of Coburg." This time he never returned into the politics that had passed outside his formula for them.

Discord followed the Queen's choice of Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister, and a divided government lasting eighteen months was notable solely for the fact that Rosebery was the only Premier to win the Derby during office; after which the Liberals could never be sure of Church and Nonconformist votes while he remained their leader. The ministry fell on an Army Estimate vote, and Salisbury combined with Chamberlain to form a Coalition of Conservatives and Unionists. The General Election in 1896 gave them a huge majority over other parties. They had a clear field and favourable omens. Trade and dividends were good, unemployment had almost vanished, the Colonies and Dependencies were prospering. The political opposition was ineffective. At home only the Trades Unions, with their increasing use of the strike weapon, seemed a danger to stability. The Workmens Compensation Act and a few lesser measures were enough, with encouragement of sport, to keep labour at large sweet-tempered.

Such trouble as there was loomed from the "Dark Continent," of which Salisbury said, "Africa was created to be the plague of the Foreign Office." The new Imperialism was a business one that reinforced the maxim of trade following the flag with a determination that the flag must follow trade. Joseph Chamberlain, its prophet, was the man of the period, although Balfour was Salisbury's deputy as leader of the Commons. The surprise that Chamberlain should have chosen to be Colonial Secretary, which till then had not been among the highest Cabinet ranks, was evidence that he saw clearer than others what was to be the



AN IRISH EVICTION: "It was necessary to obtain the assistance of the military in order to effect the eviction of one of Lord Clanricarde's tenants from his house at Woodford. Two hundred men of 'Prince Albert's Somersetshire Light Infantry,' under Major Kinloch, proceeded from Bow to assist the civil authorities. Scaling ladders were used, and after a desperate struggle the house was carried by storm. Police and emergency men were injured by scalding water which was thrown at them, and a swarm of bees let loose added to the difficulties to be contended with. A sensation was caused by the estate bailiff of Lord Clanricarde publicly resigning his office during the operations"

best saddle for riding to popularity on coming storms. Opportunity gave him much through the Transvaal, now disgorging millions in gold under the baleful eye of an old Boer president. It was a problem exactly suited to Chamberlain's genius for seeing the intricate clearly, and then planning secretive means for mastering it. His luck from circumstance held to the end. It gave him Cecil Rhodes for the large-minded organiser on the spot. Kruger's bovine tyrannies were invaluable in stirring up patriotism; and even the premature squib from the Jameson Raid, ending in the police court and a Select Committee's rebuke to Rhodes, was useful in lighting up Boer oppression to the British public. Finally, Kitchener's victories in the Soudan fostered the aggressive spirit necessary to make the nation accept a costly war. The headlines and headiness provoked by success in arms acted like yeast to swell the maturing plans of Chamberlain in England and the renewed domination of Rhodes in South Africa, so that even a majority of Liberals concurred when the Boer War happened.

With Chamberlain and the Transvaal the man and the situation were as well mated as any conjunction in English history. He applied his opportunities without mistake, until the British defeats of Black December in 1899 revealed a heavy under-estimate of the Boers' fighting strength. The energetic remedies which he at once applied made him "Joe" to the nation, and kept him firm on the storm's saddle. Like Disraeli before him, the furthest-sighted statesman of the 'nineties put Empire before England, even to the length of urging at the Diamond Jubilee an Empire tariff policy. He fulfilled in the new century nearly all that he had planned, but missed the Premiership by dying too soon.

The chapter should end, as it began, with Mr. Gladstone. A greater personality than Salisbury or Chamberlain, he lingered like the last mammoth in a world that thought him extinct, and emerged from dim retirement once only, to trumpet from the past: "Turkish atrocities!" His death in 1898, after calm untouched by party rancour, drew from racial instinct a glamour that has not yet faded. The fine head, with eyes flashing from deep-set sockets, the lined-parchment skin, the mountainous throat behind tall collars or Mrs. Gladstone's woollen comforters, were fixed in the national memory without need of portraiture. The honours given to his corpse—a lying-in-state at Westminster, and attendance by all Europe (except Turkey) at the funeral in which a Prince of Wales and a Duke of York served as pall-bearers—were beyond Disraeli's Garter. And the lofty sentiments that came from everywhere to Downing Street and Hawarden were echoes from a century that still loved without desire its former loftiness, of which he was the fountain.

1878



"PEACE WITH HONOUR": Disraeli's triumphant return after signing the Treaty of Berlin

1877



THE LORD CHANCELLOR READING THE QUEEN'S SPEECH at the Opening of Parliament, prior to the induction of the Prime Minister as first Earl of Beaconsfield

MR GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

1885



ADDRESSING THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS IN LEWISHAM "In spite of the chatter about progress and enlightenment the mass of the community regard the struggles of the rival politicians as a source of pleasurable excitement When, however, the fun takes the form of an organised gang sweeping through the audience and using bludgeons, as at Lewisham, it is the reverse of pleasurable The Radicals are the greatest sinners in this respect"

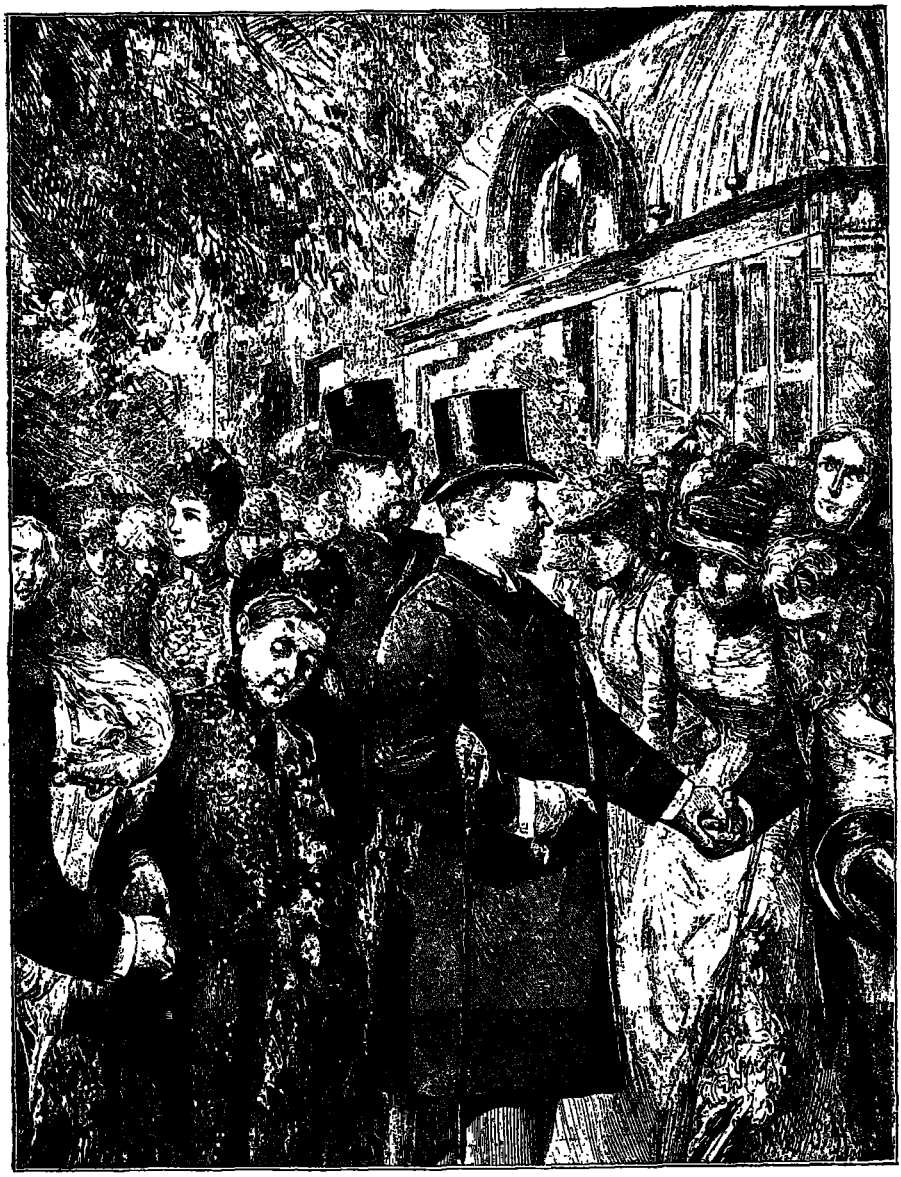
1877



DISRAELI'S FAIRY QUEEN Her Majesty's visit to Mr Disraeli at Hughenden has caused a considerable stir, for no Prime Minister has been similarly honoured since Queen Victoria visited Sir Robert Peel in 1843 'There are,' says *The Times*, 'some wise persons at home and more abroad who will see in the trip an event pregnant with portentous meaning'"

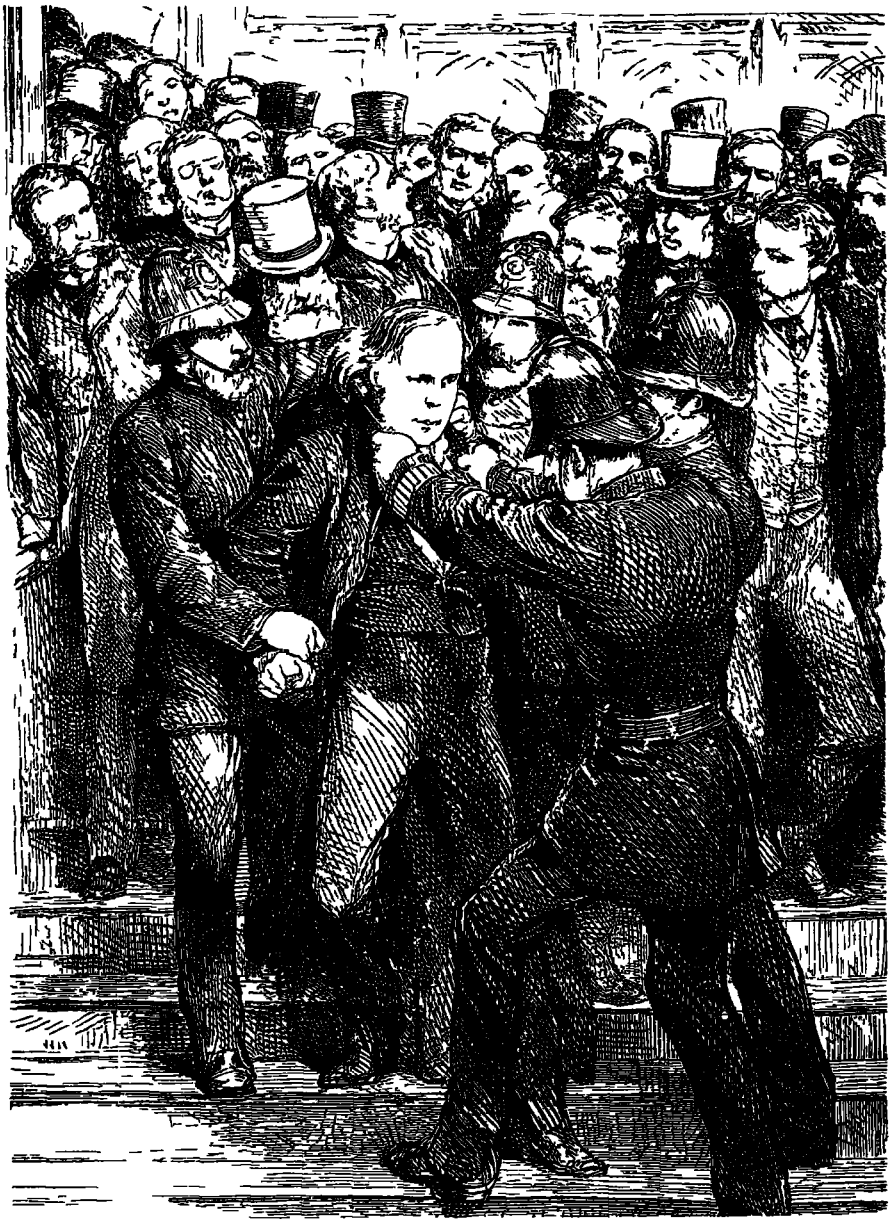
MR. GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

1890



NOT HER FAVOURITE PREMIER. Queen Victoria reservedly offering her hand to Mr. Gladstone at a garden party at Marlborough House. The Prince of Wales (Edward VII), who stands in front of the Duke of Cambridge, is shaking hands with Sir Frederick Leighton, A.R.A. On the left are The Princess of Wales (Alexandra) and Mrs. Gladstone

1881



BRADLAUGH EJECTED FROM THE HOUSE Charles Bradlaugh, free-thinker, became notorious as a leading "infidel," and his competence, as an avowed atheist, to take the oath was continually questioned, and when in 1880 he was returned to Parliament as a Radical, his claim to be allowed to affirm was rejected Refusal to allow him to take the oath, on his professing willingness, led to his ejectment. He was permitted to take the oath and his seat in 1886.

MR. GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

1881



MR. PARNELL REMOVED: "The extraordinary scene in the House of Commons, when twenty-eight Irish Members were 'named' seriatim by the Speaker for having disregarded his authority, will take a prominent place in the History of England. Each of the members went through the form of refusing to leave the House without the intervention of physical force, but submitted when Captain Gosset and his six assistants appeared. Mr. Parnell marched out without resistance beside the Sergeant-at-Arms, protesting that he only yielded to superior force"

1880



A ROYAL DUKE IN DISTRESSED IRELAND "Rear Admiral H R H The Duke of Edinburgh having offered his services with the relief squadron engaged in distributing seed potatoes in the districts of Mayo and Galway, he visited many cottages, and not only sat down to interrogate the inmates, but distributed tickets which could be exchanged for blankets

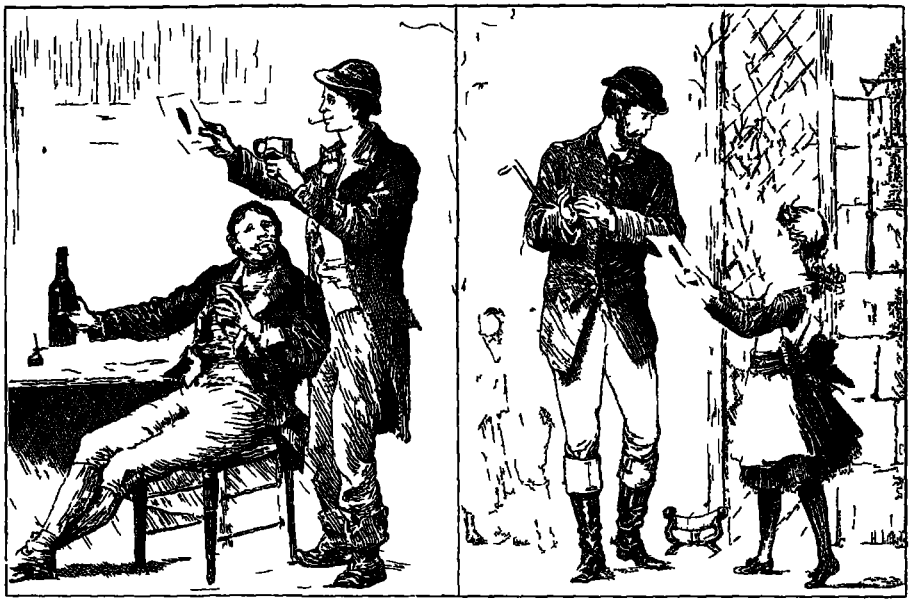
1880



CAPTAIN BOYCOTT GATHERS HIS HARVEST "No labourer has dared to work for Captain Boycott since he became a marked man, through serving ejectments on tenants as agent to Lord Erne He was isolated by the Land Leaguers until an expedition of some fifty or sixty picked men, from among the thousands who volunteered arrived armed Although Captain Boycott's case is typical, the prominence accorded it bids fair to give the English language a new word"

MR GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

1881



ST VALENTINE'S DAY IN IRELAND 'A—h Jeames—'tis illigant' The Valet of Death Warnings (gleefully) The recipient's daughter, 'Is this for you, Father? Is it Fun'

1881



THE WIDOW AND THE ASSASSIN A SCENE IN RURAL IRELAND "After an outrage during the Land Agitation 'I'm looking at the poor Lady' 'I can't, Biddy!'"

1883



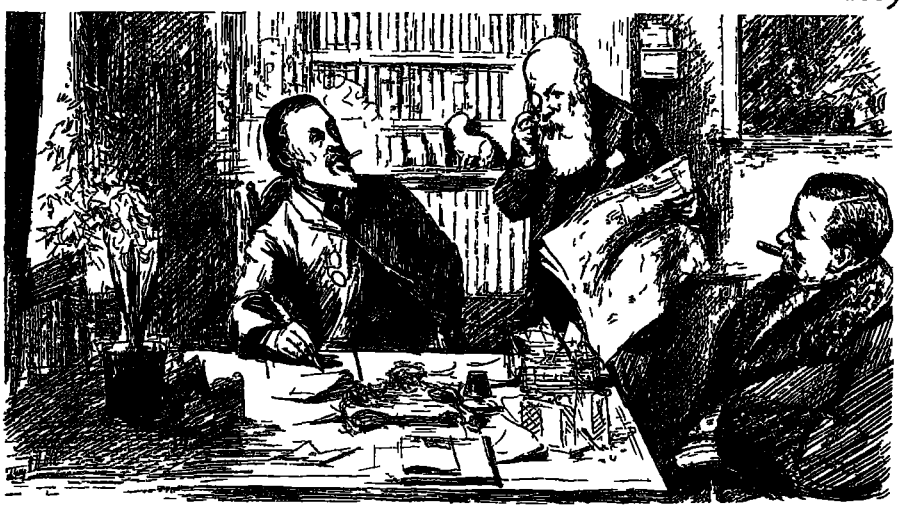
THE INFORMER AGAINST THE DUBLIN MURDER LEAGUE: "The prisoners arrested in connection with the Phœnix Park murder adopted a hearty good-humoured manner in Court, until their self-possession was swept away by the arrival of James Carey, who suddenly appeared in the character of informer. Surprise, indignation, and disgust swept over the prisoners' faces as they glanced with scorn at the man who had once been their guide and leader." (Carey was assassinated later in the year by Patrick O'Donnell on board a vessel at Cape Town)

1889



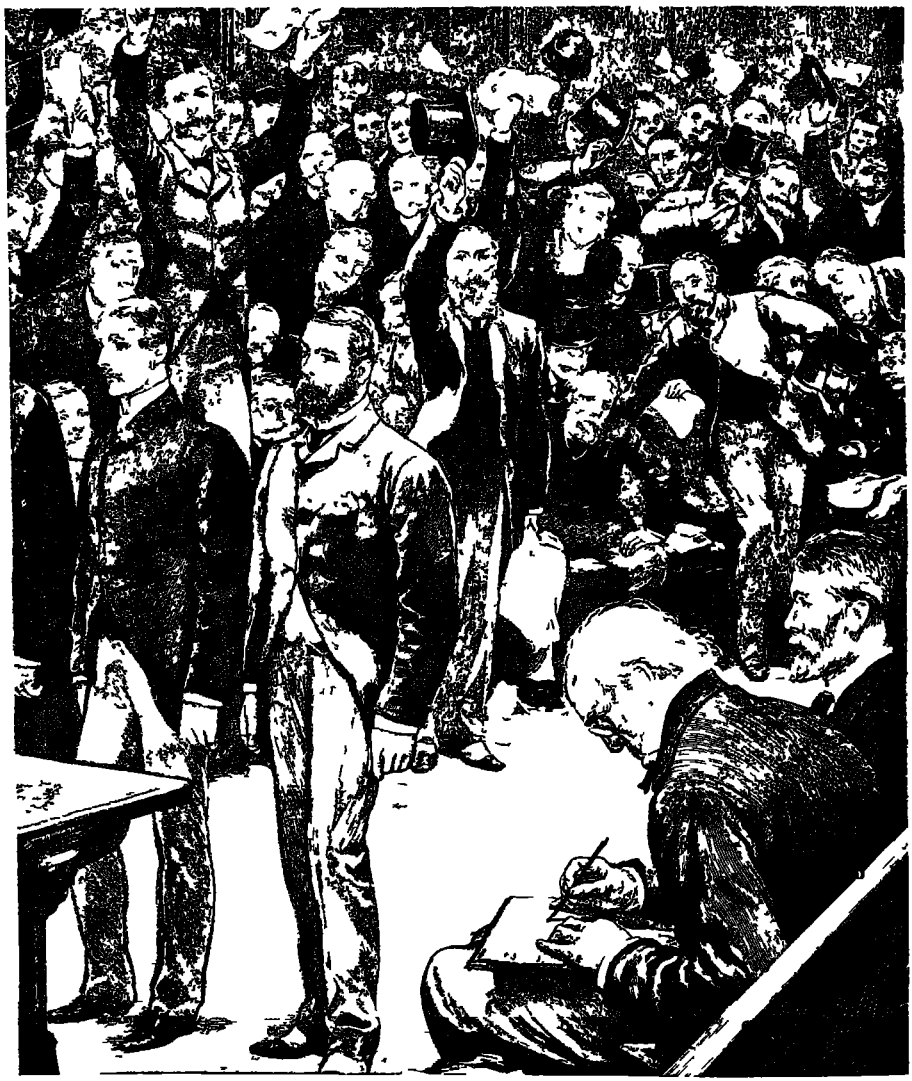
PARNELL AND A SINISTER FIGURE "During the last sitting of the Commission enquiring into the letters that purport to implicate Mr Parnell in Fenian outrages, a rencontre occurred outside the Law Courts between the Nationalist leader (with Mr George Lewis) and the so called 'Major le Caron,' who states that Parnell wrote the letters, and whom evidence has revealed as Mr Beecher, an ex British spy within the Fenian inner councils, both in Ireland and America"

1889



THE FORGER OF THE PARNELL LETTERS CONFESSES "Piggott (standing up), the Irish journalist who wrote the seditious letters published by *The Times* as purporting to have been written by Parnell, admitting to Henry Labouchere and George Augustus Sala that he was the forger" (From a sketch made by Sydney P Hall in Labouchere's room after the confession)

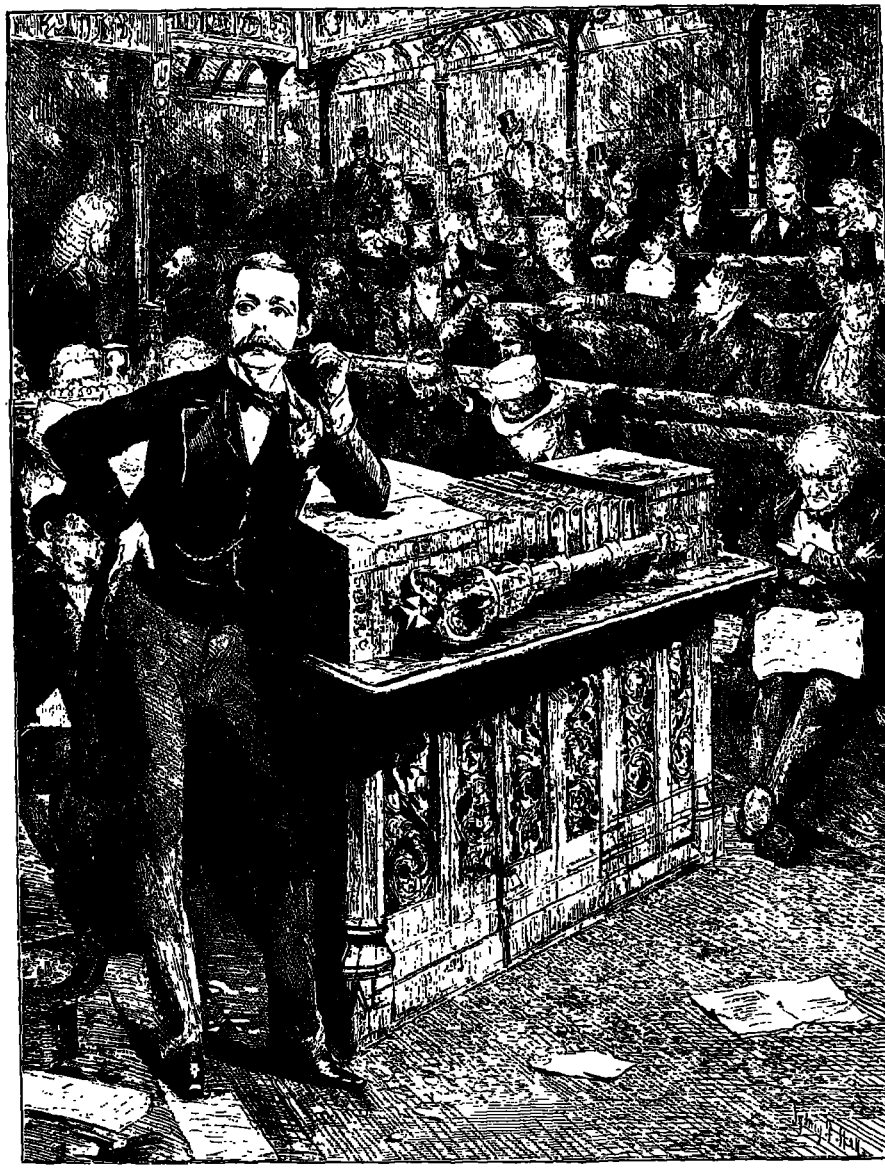
1886



MR GLADSTONE DEFEATED "The motion before the House was to go into Committee on the Budget Bill, when Sir Michael Hicks Beach met this with a resolution challenging three of the leading principles Members were so familiar with formal attacks that they were not inclined to regard this effort with interest, and sixty two Liberals stopped away because they thought there was 'nothing in it' The Division bell rang after midnight, very few yet guessing the surprise in store Slowly the house emptied and slowly refilled, but it was a matter of minutes before the tellers arrived with news that the Opposition had triumphed and the Government was overthrown Scenes of wild excitement broke out on the Conservative side, and Lord Randolph Churchill leapt on the bench madly shouting Throughout the mad tumult, Mr Gladstone remained outwardly unmoved, he sat in his usual seat with his portfolio on his knees, writing to the Queen the account of his own defeat, but never once looked up at his gleeful opponents"

MR. GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

1886



"VICE VERSA"—THE OLD CHANCELLOR AND THE NEW: "Mr. Gladstone's most genuine triumphs as a politician were won as Chancellor of the Exchequer when a sagacious Chancellor might occupy himself in the agreeable task of simplifying and lightening taxation. Matters are very different now, for we are always haunted by the war spectre. It is at this gloomy time that the Chancellorship has been conferred upon Lord Randolph Churchill, whose duties have hitherto been combative rather than fiscal. The verdict, on the whole, is that his lordship has acquitted himself fairly well, although Mr. Gladstone sombrely frowns from the bench opposite"



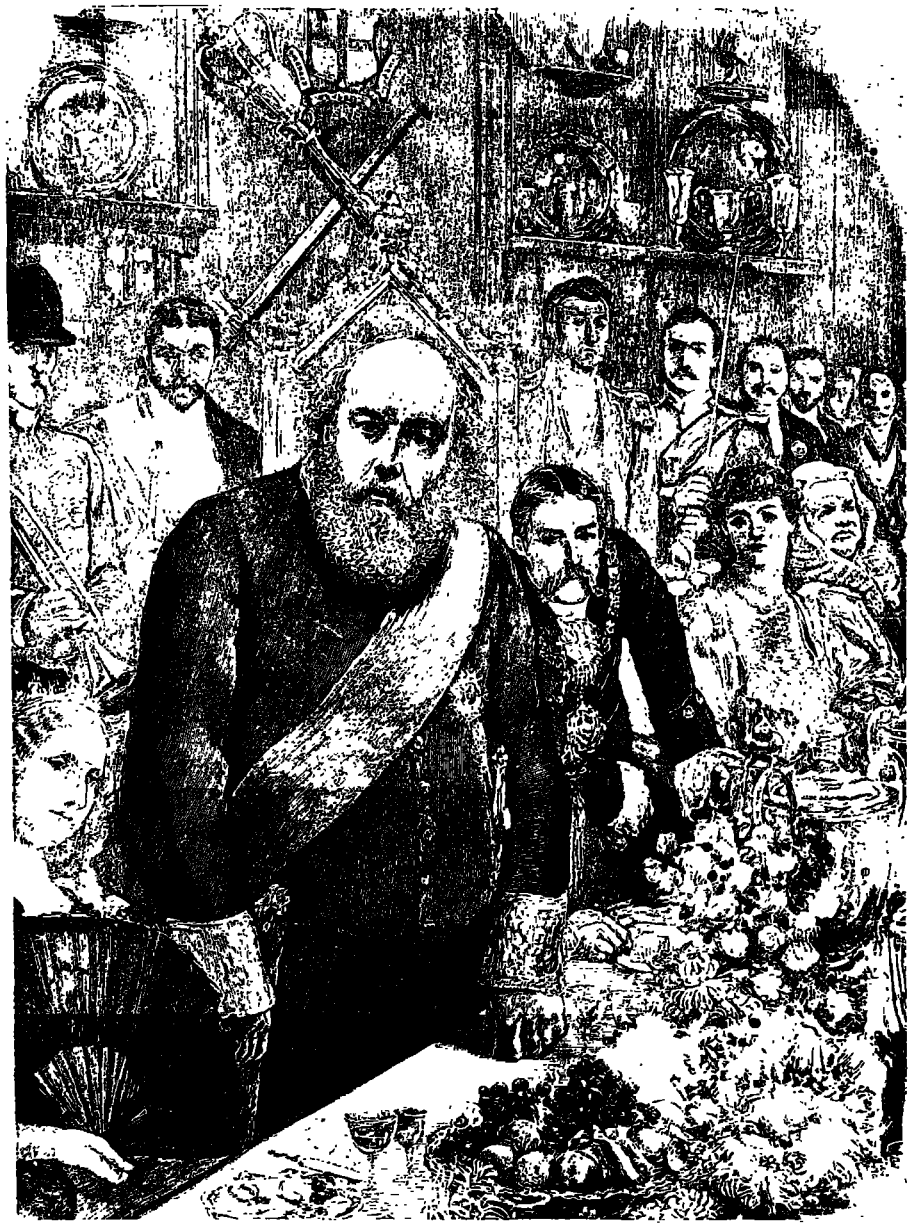
ULSTER'S UNION JACK IN THE ALBERT HALL "The most remarkable political demonstration of recent times was held in the Albert Hall, when 1,200 delegates from loyalist districts all over Ireland protested against the great betrayal by Home Rule, and were joined by 12,000 English Unionists A shout went up when the Duke of Abercorn unfolded the Union Jack, and planted it beside the chair The audience then spontaneously broke into song:

'Shall we from the Union sever?
By the God that made us, Never!
Wave the flag we love for ever,
Over us and you!'"



TO MEET THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY: "The reception given by the Marquis of Abergavenny at the Constitutional Club to meet the Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury"

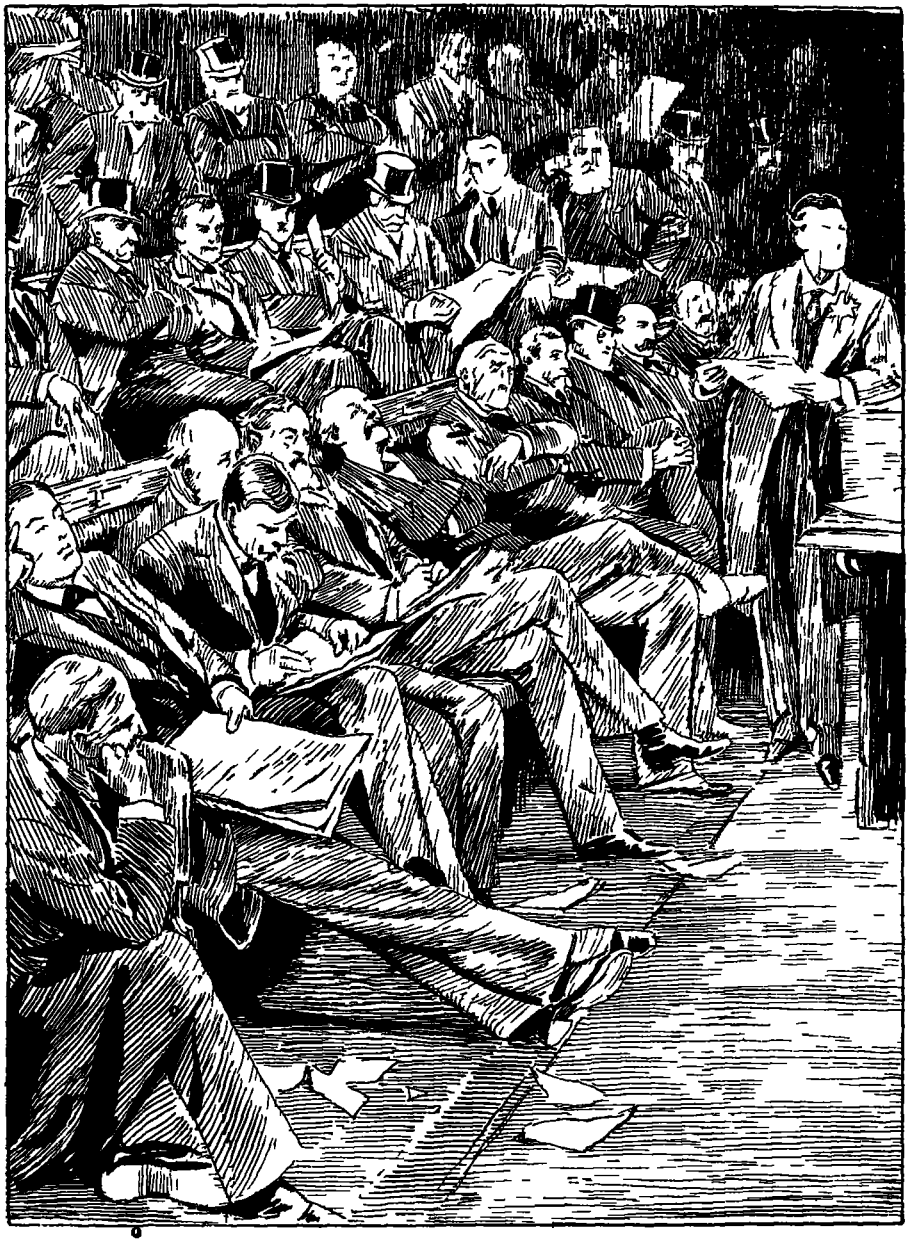
1895



LORD SALISBURY WARNS THE SULTAN OF TURKEY AT THE GUILDHALL: "No man will say that it is impossible that the Great Powers may be weary of the cry of Christian suffering that comes upon their ears. . . . Whatever may happen in the East, be it in the way of war, or in the way of commerce, we are equal to any competition which may be proposed to us"

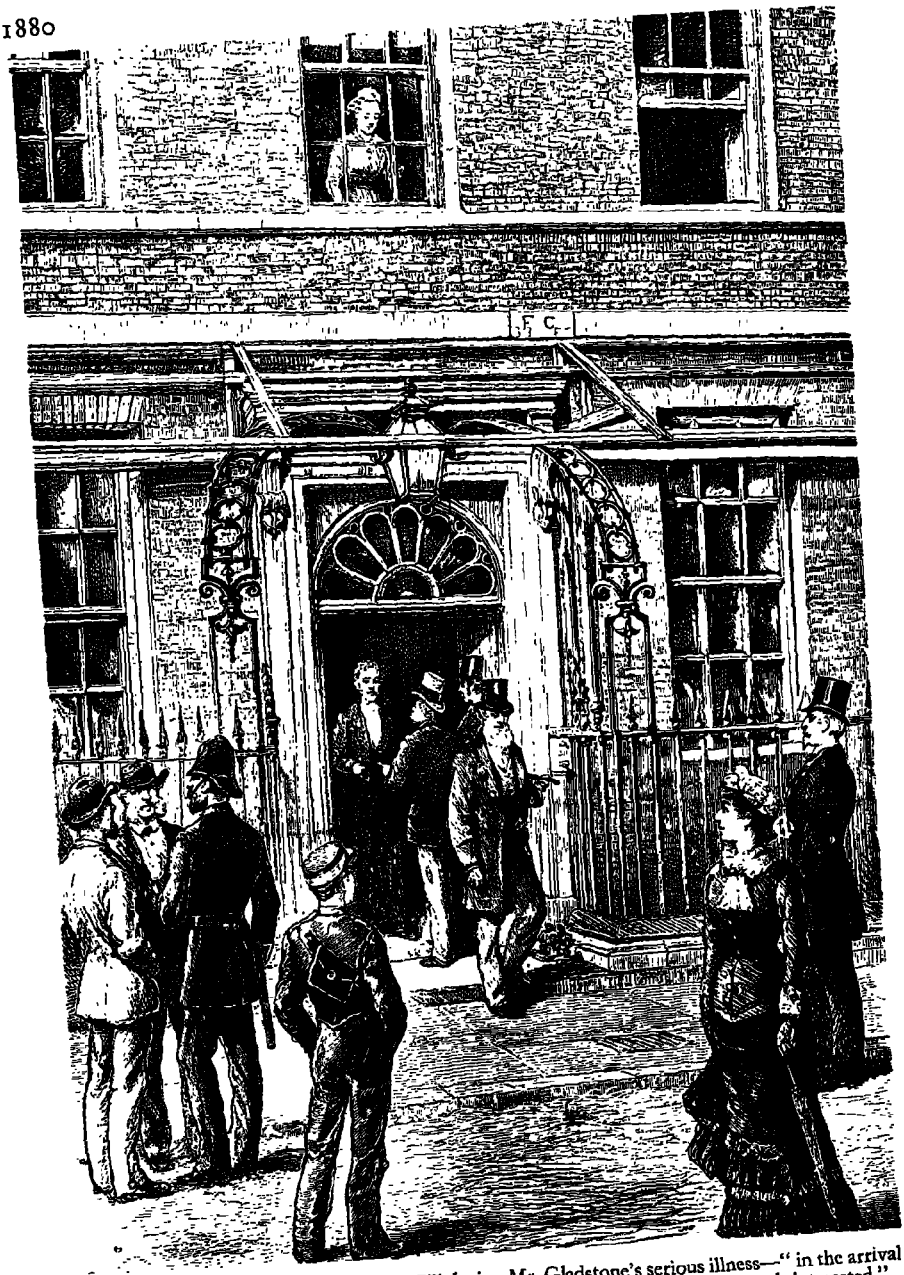
MR. GLADSTONE SEES IT PASS

1896



PRELUDE TO THE BOER WAR—Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary "Our first object is to preserve our position as the paramount State in South Africa It matters not whether we call ourselves suzerain or paramount, but it is an essential feature of our policy that the authority and influence of this country should be predominant in South Africa"

1880



CALLERS AT 10 DOWNING STREET during Mr. Gladstone's serious illness—" in the arrival and departure of whom Mrs. Gladstone, at a first floor window, was much interested "

1902



QUEEN VICTORIA IS DEAD

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